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# THE SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTION OF BEHISTÛN. 

## PLATE I.



Frontispiece.
Darius the Great, accompanied by attendants, with one foot placed on the prostrate body of the Pseudo-Smerdis (Gaumâta).

From the rock-sculpture at Behistôn.

## THE

## SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTION

 of
## DARIUS THE GREAT

ON THE

ROCK OF BEHISTUN IN, 'ERSIA.

A NEW COLLATION OF THE PERSIAN, SUSIAN, AND BABYLONIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS, ETc.

## WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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The following pages contain the Persian text, with its Susian and Babylonian versions, of the Inscription which Darius the Great caused to be cut on the Rock of Behistûn, which is situated in Persia on the ancient caravan route between Babylon and Ecbatana. The Inscription was first copied and translated by the late Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., G.C.B., whose study of it enabled him to bring to a successful issue the decipherment of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. His edition of the Persian text, accompanied by a Commentary, appeared in the tenth volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1847, and his final edition of the texts of the Babylonian version was published by the Trustees of the British Museum in Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. III, plate 39 f.

Owing to the difficulty of reaching the Inscription on the rock, the readings of many passages have remained doubtful, and have formed the subject of much discussion. The present volume contains new material which, it is hoped, will assist in fixing the text of such passages, and may be regarded as a supplement to the above-named publications.

The new edition of the texts printed herein is based upon a complete collation of the Inscription, which the Trustees of the British Museum instructed Mr. L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A., Assistant in the Department, to make in 1904. Mr. R. C. Thompson, M.A., then Assistant in the Department, was deputed to assist him in the work. As each sign in the Inscription, or its traces, in all three versions has been carefully examined on
the Rock itself, many doubtful readings have been cleared up and several lacunae filled. On the other hand, some signs, which were quite clear at the time when Sir Henry Rawlinson made his copies, have now entirely disappeared, and these have been here restored and are placed within brackets. With a view of making the work as useful as possible to students, renderings in English, accompanied by a series of transliterations, have been added.

The plates have been made from photographs taken on the spot, and in them we have, for the first time, faithful representations of the god Auramazda, Darius and his attendants, and the rebel chiefs, sculptured on the Rock of Behistûn.

This edition is the work of Mr. L. W. King and Mr. R. C. Thompson, and the prefatory remarks have been drawn up by Mr. King and myself.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

Department of Egyptian and Assyrian
Antiquities, British Museum, January 24, 1907

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# SCULPTURES AND INSCRIPTION 

 of
# DARIUS THE GREAT 

ON
THE ROCK OF BEHISTUN IN PERSIA.

## INTRODUCTION.

On the main caravan route between the city of Baghdad and the Persian capital of Teheran, at a distance of about 65 miles

The Rock of Behistûn or Bisutûn. from Hamadan, which is built upon the site of the ancient city of Ecbatana, stands the famous Rock now known as "Bỉsutûn" or "Behistûn" (see map, Plate V). The name of the Rock is derived from that of the small village of Bisitûn or Bìsutûn, which lies near its foot. The form of the name "Behistûn" is not used by the modern inhabitants of the country, although it is that by which the Rock is best known among European scholars. The name "Behistûn," more correctly "Bahistûn," was borrowed by the late Major-General Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, Bart., G.C.B., from the Arabic geographer Yâkût, ${ }^{1}$ who mentions the village and its spring, and describes the Rock as being of great height, and refers to the sculptures upon it. The earliest known name of the Rock is that given by biodorus Siculus, who calls it tò Bayíqtavov öpos, ${ }^{2}$ whence, no doubt. are derived the modern forms of the name.

In the works of many modern writers the Rock of Behistûn Description of is de.scribed as an isolated hill, but as a matter of fact it is the the Rock and last peak of a long narrow range which skirts the plain of spring.

[^0][^1]Karmanshah on the east. In riding from Karmanshah to the village of Bîsutun, this range lies at some distance to the left of the traveller; it rises abruptly from the plain, and its summit is broken into a series of peaks and ridges. Its sides are precipitous, and in many places afford suitable surfaces whereon sculptures and inscriptions might be cut, but it is not until we come to the end of the range that we find any reliefs or inscriptions. The reason for this is not far to seek. At the foot of the last peak, which rises to a height of over 3,800 feet, bubble up a number of springs into a pool of water clear as crystal, supplying the small stream which flows by the village and away into the plain (see Plate II). Here from time immemorial caravans have halted and watered their beasts, and every army which has marched from Persia into Northern Babylonia has drunk at these famous springs. Moreover, probably by reason of the springs, the Rock was regarded as a sacred place, even as Diodorus says. ${ }^{1}$ It is clear that the sacred character of the mountain, and the existence of springs at its foot, and its bold and prominent position on the great highway between Persia and Babylonia, induced Darius the Great to choose the precipitous face of the mountain as a suitable place whercon to carve sculptures and texts which should commemorate his conquests for all generations.

Position of the sculptures and inscriptions of Darius.

The caravan road passes between the springs and the Rock of Behistûn, and immediately before it rounds the last spur of the mountain, a narrow cleft or gully opens in the face of the rock. High up, on the left-hand side of the cleft, some five hundred feet above the level of the plain, are cut the scries of sculptures and inscriptions of Darius, which may be thus described (see Plate II).
The sculptures. The sculptures represent Darius, accompanied by two of his officers, receiving the submission of the leaders of rebellions against his authority in various parts of his empire during the early years of his reign. The king stands with his lefr foot

[^2]

General view of the rock-sculptures and inscriptions at Behistûn,
I. Sculptures and inscription of Darius the Great on the left side of the cleft in the rock.
II. Sculptures and inscription of Golarzes, and modern panel.

I' I. Caravan route from Kermanshah to Ilamadan, passing between the rock and the springs.
IV. Springs at the base of the rock, below the caravan route.
planted on the body of the Pseudo-Smerdis, Gaumâta the Magian, who lies on his back and has his hands raised in entreaty to Darius (see Plate I, Frontispiece). The king has his right hand lifted to Auramazda, who appears amid rays of light and lightnings, and in his left hand he grasps a bow. In front of him stand nine rebel leaders, roped together by their necks and having their hands bound behind their backs (see Plate III). The last figure of the series, who wears a high, pointed cap, was added to the group at a later period; it represents Skunkha, the Scythian. Below the sculptured panel are five columns of cuneiform text in the old Persian language, which record the suppression of the revolts.

The inscriptions. To the left of the Persian inscription are three columns of cuneiform text, written in the Susian character and language, and containing a translation of the first four columns of the Persian text. On two faces of an overhanging rock, above, the Susian version, and to the left of the sculptures, is a single column of cuneiform text, written in the Babylonian character and language, containing a translation of the first four columns of the Persian text (see Plate IV). To the right of the sculpture were four columns of supplementary cuneiform texts, which probably referred in part to the events described in the fifth column of the Persian text ; this portion of the Rock is so much weathered that only a few words of the first column, whith was in Susian, are now legible.

1'in carliest reference to the Rock of Behistûn we find in References to the History of Diodorus Siculus, who flourished in the first century of our era, and who states that the sculptures on the the Rock in classical Rock were the work of Semiramis, who caused them to be made on her march from Babylon to Ecbatana According to this writer the great queen pitched her camp by the springs at the foot of the Rock, and planted a garden there. His description of the sculptures is not accurate, for he states that the figure of Darius is that of the queen, and the twelve figures around the king he makes to be one hundred lance-bearers standing round about her. He says that the inscriptions are written in "Syriac
characters," and that Semiramis ascended to the top of the Rock by laying the packs and saddles of her beasts of burden one upon the other. ${ }^{1}$ Diodorus also mentions that Alexander the Great visited the Rock on his march from Susa to Ecbatana. ${ }^{2}$ According to Sir Henry Rawlinson, ${ }^{3}$ the village of Behistun is mentioned under the form "Baptana" by the early geographer Isidore ${ }^{\text {t }}$ of Charax, who, however, supplies no description of the Rock or its sculptures.

Descriptions of the Rock by early European travellers.

Fanciful explanations of the sculptures.

Among the earliest European visitors to Behistûn in modern times must be mentioned Ambrogio Bembo, who travelled in Persia in the second half of the XVIIth century, and gives a comparatively accurate description of the sculptures on the Rock. ${ }^{5}$ He was followed by Otter, ${ }^{6}$ about sixty years later, who considered the figure of the god Auramazda to be a mere heraldic device. After the lapse of another sixty years, Olivier ${ }^{7}$ visited Behistûn and made a drawing of the sculptures, which he afterwards published in the account of his travels. His drawing is very faulty, for he represents Darius as seated on a throne, with his feet resting on a footstool, and his copy of the rest of the composition is inaccurate. Notwithstanding this, Hoeck, ${ }^{8}$ in his Veteris Mediae et Persiae Monumenta (Göttingen, 1818), relies chiefly on Olivier for his information, and rejects Bembo's more trustworthy narrative. The Rook was again described by Gardanne, who supposed that Auramazda and his rays of light were a cross, and thce lyht that the figures below it represented the Twelve $\hat{\lambda}^{1}$ pustles. ${ }^{9}$

[^3]

VII VIII IX X XI XII

General view of Darius and the rebel leaders.
回

A few years later Kinneir ${ }^{1}$ recognized that the sculptures of Behistûn belonged to the same period as those of Persepolis, and this view was shared by Keppel, who describes the sculptures at some length. ${ }^{2}$ In 1822, Sir Robert Ker Porter published a valuable account of the travels which he had made in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, and Babylonia between the years 1817 and 1820, and to him we owe a lengthy description of the sculptures at Behistûn, and the best drawing of them which had hitherto been published. He recognised generally the great antiquity of the sculptures, but he misunderstood their purport. He says, "The design of this sculpture appears to "tally so well with the great event of the total conquest over " Israel by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria and the Medes, that I

Sir R. Ker Porter's theory of their origin. "venture to suggest the possibility of this bas-relief having " been made to commemorate that final achievement. Certain " circumstances attending the entire captivity of the ten tribes, " which took place in a second attack on their nation, when "considered, seem to confirm the conjecture into a strong "probability. . . . . . In the royal figure, I see Shalmaneser, "the son of the renowned Arbaces, followed by two appropriate "leaders of the armies of his two dominions, Assyria and " Media, carrying the spear and the bow. . . . . . Besides, he " tramples on a prostrate foe; not one that is slain, but one who " is a captive. . . . . . He must have been a king ; . . . . . . . "inclucling the prostrate monarch, there are precisely ten " captives; which might be regarded as the representatives, or " heads, of each tribe ; beginning with the king, who, assuredly, "would be considered the chief of his; and ending with the "aged figure at the end, whose high cap may have been an "exaggerated representation of the mitre worn by the sacer"dotal tribe of Levi; a just punishment of the priesthood "at that time, which had debased itself by every species of

[^4]"idolatrous compliance with the whims, or rather wickedness " of the people, in the adoption of pagan worship.
"Doubtless, the figure with the inscription on his garments, " from the singularity of the appendage, must have been some " noted personage in the history of the event ; and, besides, it "seems to designate a striking peculiarity of the Jews, who "were accustomed to write memorable sentences of old, in the "form of phylacteries, on different parts of their raiment. "What those may mean, which cover the garment of this "figure, we have no means of explaining, till the diligent "researches of the learned may be able to decipher the arrow" headed character." ${ }^{1}$

Inaccessibility of the texts for study.

Sir Henry Rawlinson's work at Behistun.

Although, as we have seen, the sculptures of Behistûn had been sketched by several travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, nothing had been done to render the columns of inscriptions available to the learned for examination and study. To make copies of the texts is a very difficult matter, because, as already said, they are cut upun the face of a nearly precipitous rock, some five hundred feet above the level of the plain. It is possible to approach to within two hundred feet of the inscriptions by climbing up the masses of cletached rock and boulders at the foot of the mountain, but at this point the rock suddenly rises almost perpendicularly, and the scaling of it is accompanied with considerable risk.

The first to overcome the difficulties was Sir Henry Rawlinson, ${ }^{2}$ to whose labours the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions is largely due. In the year 1833, when still a lieutenant in the Indian service, he and other officers were selected to proceed to Persia to assist the Shah in training his army. In 1835 he was sent to Kermanshah as Military Adviser and Assistant to the Governor of that Province. On his way thither

[^5]PLATE IV.

he passed Hamadan (Ecbatana), and took the opportunity of copying the cuneiform inscriptions which are cut on the face of a rock in a ravine of Mount Elwend near that city. From these inscriptions, by independent study, he succeeded in obtaining the key to the values of the old Persian cuneiform signs. ${ }^{1}$ During the period of his residence at Kermanshah, from 1835 to 1837 , he devoted his leisure to the examination of the inscriptions on the Rock of Behistûn, which is little more than twenty miles from that city. By the end of 1837 he had obtained copies of about one-half the columns of the Persian text, and the rendering of it which he made at this time proves that he was far in advance of every investigator of the subject. The incidents of his military career made it necessary for him to abandon his studies at Behistûn until 1844 . In the summer of that year he returned thither with Mr. Hester and Captain Jones, R.N., and with their help he was enabled to finish his copies of the Persian text, and to make a complete copy of the Susian Version. The difficulty of carrying out the work is best described in his own words:-
"On reaching the recess which contains the Persian text " of the record, ladders are indispensable in order to examine Rawlinson's copies of the Persian text. " the upper portion of the tablet; and even with ladders there " is considerable risk, for the foot-ledge is so narrow, about "eighteen inches, or at most two feet in breadth, that with a "ladder long enough to reach the sculptures sufficient slope "cannot be given to enable a person to ascend, and, if the " ladder be shortened in order to increase the slope, the upper " inscriptions can only be copied by standing on the topmost "step of the ladder, with no other support than steadying the
${ }^{1}$ For the history of the decipherment of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, see Rawlinsun, Journal R.A.S., Vol. X., p. 3 ff., 1846 ; Spiegel., Die Altpersischen Kicilinschriflem, Leipzig, 1881, P. 133 ff.; Fleming, Beiträge zur Assyriologie, Bd. II., 1894. p. Iff.; Weisshach in the Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Bd. II., 1896 etc., p. 64 ff. ; King, Assyrian Language, 1901, p. 18 ff. ; Booth, Decipherment of the Triüngual Cuneiform Inscriptions, 1902, p. 149 ff.; Fossey, Manuel d'Assyriologie, tom. I., p. 8ı ff.
"body against the rock with the left arm, while the left hand "holds the note-book, and the right hand is employed with the "pencil. In this position I copied all the upper inscriptions, " and the interest of the occupation entirely did away with any " sense of danger.

Rawlinson's method of reaching the Susian version.
" To reach the recess which contains the Scythic transla"tion of the record of Darius is a matter of far greater "difficulty. On the left-hand side of the recess alone is there " any foot-ledge whatever ; on the right hand, where the recess, "which is thrown a few feet further back, joins the Persian " tablet, the face of the rock presents a sheer precipice, and it " is necessary therefore to bridge this intervening space between "the left-hand of the Persian tablet and the foot-ledge on the "left-hand of the recess. With ladders of sufficient length, a "bridge of this sort can be constructed without difficulty ; but " my first attempt to cross the chasm was unfortunate, and " might have been fatal, for, having previously shortened my " only ladder in order to obtain a slope for copying the Persian " upper legends, I found, when I came to lay it across to the "recess in order to get at the Scythic translation, that it was " not sufficiently long to lie flat on the foot-ledge beyond. One "side of the ladder would alone reach the nearest point of the " ledge, and, as it would of course have tilted over if a person "had attempted to cross in that position, I changed it from a " horizontal to a vertical direction, the upper side resting firmly " on the rock at its two ends, and the lower hanging over the "precipice, and I prepared to cross, walking on the lower side " and holding to the upper side with my hands. If the ladder "had been a compact article, this mode of crossing, although "far from comfortable, would have been at any rate practic"able; but the Persians merely fit in the bars of their ladders " without pretending to clench them outside, and I had hardly "accordingly begun to cross over when the vertical pressure "forced the bars out of their sockets, and the lower and " unsupported side of the ladder thus parted company from the " upper, and went crashing down over the precipice. Hanging

PLATE V.


Map of Western Persia and Mesopotamia, showing the position of Behiston,
"on to the upper side, which still remained firm in its place, " and assisted by my friends, who were anxiously watching the " trial, I regained the Persian recess, and did not again attempt "to cross until I had made a bridge of comparative stability." ${ }^{1}$

Of the Babylonian Version he had, at this time, only succeeded in making copies of the small detached inscriptions, or epigraphs, which are cut below the figures in the relief; the main portion of the Babylonian text was still inaccessible. The matter stood thus until 1847, when Sir Henry Rawlinson returned once more to Behistûn in the autumn of that year, and proceeded to make arrangements for obtaining a copy of the Babylonian Version. On this occasion he provided himself with ropes, planks, ladders, etc., and took with him some Kurdish mountaineers to assist him in making a paper squeeze of the inscription, as the position of the text on the rock had hitherto prevented him from making a copy by hand, as he had done in the case of the other versions. His description of the method by which he succeeded in making the paper squeeze is as follows :-
"The Babylonian transcript at Behistûn is still more Rawlinson's "difficult to reach than either the Scythic or the Persian "tablets. The writing can be copied by the aid of a good "telescope from below, but I long despaired of obtaining a " cast of the inscription; for I found it quite beyond my powers " of climbing to reach the spot where it was engraved, and "the craigsmen of the place, who were accustomed to track "the mountain goats over the entire face of the mountain, "declared the particular block inscribed with the Babylonian "legend to be unapproachable. At length, however, a wild " Kurdish boy, who had come from a distance, volunteered "to make the attempt, and I promised him a considerable "reward if he succeeded. The mass of rock in question is "scarped, and it projects some feet over the Scythic recess, "so that it cannot be approached by any of the ordinary

[^6]" means of climbing. The boy's first move was to squeeze "himself up a cleft in the rock a short distance to the left of "the projecting mass. When he had ascended some distance " above it, he drove a wooden peg firmly into the cleft, fastened " a rope to this, and then endeavoured to swing himself across " to another cleft at some distance on the other side ; but in this "he failed, owing to the projection of the rock. It then only "remained for him to cross over to the cleft by hanging on "with his toes and fingers to the slight inequalities on the "bare face of the precipice, and in this he succeeded, passing " over a distance of twenty feet of almost smooth perpendicular "rock in a manner which to a looker-on appeared quite " miraculous. When he had reached the second cleft the real "difficulties were over. He had brought a rope with him "attached to the first peg, and now, driving in a second, he "was enabled to swing himself right over the projecting mass " of rock. Here with a short ladder he formed a swinging "seat, like a painter's cradle, and, fixed upon this seat, he "took under my direction the paper cast of the Babylonian "translation of the records of Darius. . . . I must add, too, "that it is of the more importance that this invaluable Babylo" nian key should have been thus recovered, as the mass of "rock on which the inscription is engraved bore every appear" ance, when I last visited the spot, of being doomed to a " speedy destruction, water trickling from above having almost "separated the overhanging mass from the rest of the rock, "and its own enormous weight thus threatening very shortly "to bring it thundering down into the plain, dashed into a " thousand fragments. (Ibid., p. 75 ff.)

Deterioration of Rawlinson's "squeezes."

The paper squeezes referred to above, after being exhibited in the lecture rooms of various learned societies in London, were presented by Sir Henry Rawlinson to the Trustees of the British Museum, where portions of them are preserved to this day. Owing, however, to their frequent use by him when preparing his edition of the texts for press, and the constant handling of them in later years by English and

Continental scholars, and to the friable nature of the paper of which they were made, many of them crumbled and fell to pieces. Now whilst the paper squeezes were decaying, the inscriptions on the face of the Rock of Behistûn were also perishing rapidly.

Among the travellers in Persia since Rawlinson's time, the only one who made any attempt to re-examine any portion of the inscription is Prof. Williams Jackson, who in 1903 succeeded in reaching the ledge below the Persian text, and in collating doubtful passages in the lower portions of the first four columns of that version. ${ }^{1}$

In connexion with the publication of cuneiform texts undertaken by the Trustees of the British Museum, it was decided to issue a revised edition of the Babylonian version of the Behistûn Inscription, which had been included by Necessity for Sir Henry Rawlinson in the Trustees' publication, "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," Vol. III, pl. 39 and 40. The imperfect state of the paper squeezes made by Rawlinson in 1844 and 1847 rendered them insufficient for this purpose, and it was clear that no trustworthy revision could be ensured without a careful collation of the inscriptions on the rock itself. Accordingly in the spring of 1904, Mr. L. W. King, who was then conducting excavations at Kuyunjik (Nineveh) for the Trustees, was instructed to proceed to Behistûn, in order to collate the texts, and to make measurements and take photographs ; and Mr. R. C. Thompson was dispatched from England to assist him. Mr. King left Mosul on the 19th April, and, proceeding viâ Arbil, Altun Kupri, Kerkuk, Tauk, Tuz Khurmati, Khanikin, the Zagros Pass, and Kermanshah, arrived at Behistûn on the 6th May. In order to approach the Method inscribed face of the rock he decided to employ cradles

For a summary of his coilations of passages, see Jour. American Oriental Society, Vol. XXIV., p. 77 f. ; and the narrative of his travels, entitled, Persia, Past and Present, p. 186 ff, New York, 1906.

Method employed to reach the inscriptions.

Measurements of the sculptures.

The god Auramazda.
suspended from above, similar to those which he had used in copying rock-inscriptions in Assyria, as this was the only possible way of reaching the Babylonian Inscription, and of making a satisfactory copy of it. By climbing up a ravine round the end of the mountain, be succeeded in reaching a natural ledge about 200 feet above the inscription. Here iron crowbars were driven into crevices in the limestone, and ropes, made fast to them, were shaken with some difficulty down the uneven face of the rock, until their ends reached the ledge which is hewn in the surface below the inscription, and is rather less than 200 feet above the foot of the cliff (see Plate VII). This lower ledge was reached by climbing from below. Cradles made of wood from packing cases and mule-girths were slung from the pendent ropes and were raised or lowered, according to the positon of the text under examination, by natives stationed on the natural ledge above. As some misconception exists regarding the true dimensions of the sculptures and inscriptions, the following detailed measurements made by Mr. King are given.

The height of the sculptured panel from the ledge on which Darius and the prisoners stand is io ft ., and its total width, including the additional figure on the right, is about 18 ft . The figure of Darius is 5 ft .8 in . high; the figures of the two attendants are each 4 ft . 10 in . high ; the height of each prisoner is 3 ft . 10 in . The height of Auramazda, from the crest of his head-dress to the bottom of the rays, is 3 ft .9 in ., and the greatest width of the figure is 4 ft .2 in . The space between the lowest rays and the head of the third captive measures only $6 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. The last figure in the group of captives is that of Skunkha, the Scythian, a later addition; to make room for which, a portion of the first column of the supplementary texts, 3 ft . 1 in . to 3 ft .2 in . wide, was cut away. The total height of Skunkha in his peaked cap is 5 ft . II in.

The god Auramazda is represented as a bearded figure. He wears a cylindrical head-dress, with horns, surmounted by

PLATE VI.

a solar disk, with a small double disk in the centre, from which project eight rays. The right hand of the god is raised, showing the palm, and in his left hand he holds a ring; on each wrist he has a bracelet, and he is arrayed in a plain robe with open, hanging sleeves, fastened round the waist by a girdle. He stands within a circle, from which proceed flames or rays of light; below him. on each side, is a flash of threeforked lightning ; see Plate VIII, and his figure, reduced from a scale-drawing by Mr. King, on Plate XIII.

The figures of Darius and his two attendants are carved in greater detail than those of the god and the prisoners; and their hair and beards are elaborately curled (see Plate XIV). The king wears a richly decorated crown, and each attendant a broad fillet ornamented with eight-leaved rosettes; the dress of each of the three figures is the same, and is fastened round the waist with a girdle, one end of which terminates in a tassel. The king holds a bow, and the first attendant bears a bow and a quiver with arrows ; the bow's ends are in the form of ducks: heads. The second attendant grasps a spear. A careful examination of the figures of the prisoners has led to the The figures of conclusion that they are portraits; they have been described

Darius and his two attendants. as bare-footed, but, as a matter of fact, some wear shoes, and the others high boots, with or without fastenings.

The following are the measurements of the columns of Measurements text:-

Persian Text: Col. I., 12 ft . high, 6 ft . $\mathrm{I} \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. wide. II., 12 ft . $\mathrm{I} \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. high, 6 ft . $\mathrm{I} \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{in}$. wide. III., II ft $10 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. high, 6 ft . $1 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{in}$. wide. IV., if ft. $7 \frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. high, 6 ft . $1 \frac{3}{4} \mathrm{in}$. wide. V., 5 ft .8 in . high, 5 ft . wide.

Between the last lines of Columns I.-IV. and the ledge is a space varying in height from 1 ft .2 in . to 9 in . ; and between the last line of Column V. and the ledge is a space of 7 ft .2 in .

The Susian version.

The Babylonian version.

The sculptures of Gotarzes, the Parthian king。

Sustan Version : Col. I., io ft. 5 in . high, 6 ft . io $\frac{1}{2} \mathrm{in}$. wide. II., II ft. 2 in. high, 6 ft . $10 \frac{1}{4} \mathrm{in}$. wide. III., if ft. 9 in . high, 7 ft . $\frac{3}{4} \mathrm{in}$. wide.

Babylonian Version: Left face, 3 ft .3 in . at top, 5 ft .6 in . at bottom; total height of prepared surface, 9 ft . 10 in . "

Front face, 7 ft .8 in . at top, 8 ft . 10 in . at bottom ; total height, 13 ft .9 in .

Supplementary Texts. The width of these four columns is 21 ft ., and they extend 7 ft . beyond Column V . of the Persian text. The total width of the area covered by the sculptures and inscriptions is rather more than 58 ft .6 in .

At the foot of the Rock, just above the spring, is a bas-relief of the Parthian Period. This relief contained two distinct compositions. In one of these, which is 28 ft .6 in . broad, are sculptured colossal, bearded figures from eight to nine feet in height; only three of these now remain, two on the left and one on the right. The central portion of this half of the relief was destroyed about one hundred years ago by the builder of the caravanserai in the village of Bîsutûn, who sunk in it a tablet (which rises to the top of the sculptured surface, and is 12 ft . wide) to commemorate his work. In the other composition, which is 18 ft . broad and io ft .6 in . high, the figures are in lower relief and on a smaller scale ; though they are much mutilated and weathered, it is possible, at the moment when the sun is leaving the surface of the rock, to make out certain details (see Plate IX). In the centre is a horseman, and above his head is a winged figure flying to crown him with a wreath; he is unhorsing a second horseman. From the mutilated Greek inscription which is found on the smooth surface of the rock above the sculptures, we learn that the victorious horseman is the Parthian king Gotarzes, A.D. $46-50$, and that his vanquished


View of Columns I-IV of the Persian Text at Behistîn, from the ledge below the inscriptions,
I. Overhanging rock with Babylonian Version.
II. Projerting rock-face, with the Susian Version.
III. Gap in the ledge between the Susian and Persian Versions; in the distance are the village and caravanserai of Blsutûn.
IV. Corner of the sculptured panel.
V. Cradle in position for examining the central portion of Col. IV of the Persian Text.
foe is Meherdates. ${ }^{1}$ Behind Gotarzes are the remains of another mounted figure, with his lance in rest.

Near the Rock, and about a quarter of a mile from the Sculptured Inscription of Darius, is a rude monolith, on which are monolith near sculptured figures in low relief. The monolith is a rough Behistun. six-sided rock, which has rolled down from the mountain above, and now rests not far from the foot of the cliff, on the sloping ground some distance above the plain. The rock has not been hewn into shape, and the figures are sculptured on three of its sides (see Plates X and XI). The central figure is probably that of a king, bearded, and wearing a tunic which reaches to his knees and is fastened round his body by a girdle ornamented with disks, the two ends hanging in front of him. On his head is a small round cap with a bow on each side and two streamers which fall over the shoulders to the waist ; round his neck is a collar or necklace. He wears pleated trousers, which are tucked into high boots that rise to the calf. The upper part of the figure is represented fullfaced, but the feet are in profile and turn to the right. His right hand rests on a small altar, and he holds a cup in his left. On each side of him is the figure of an attendant, who wears a plain tunic and trousers. The figure on the right (see Plate XI) holds with both hands a curved object, much broken, which may be either a branch with a flowering top, or a cornucopia; that on the left (see Plate X) holds in his right hand a staff or spear, which rests upon the ground. Both figures lean towards the king. The measurements of the rock and its sculptures are as follows:-

Figure of the king. Height 5 ft .7 in . Including the cap, 6 ft .
Figure on the right. Height 5 ft .4 in .
Figure on the left. Height 5 ft .6 in .

[^7]Traces of a building near the sculptured monolith.

Prepared rocksurface near Bîsuton.

The width of the four sides of the monolith at the height of the top of the altar are :-

| Front face | $\ldots$ | $4 \mathrm{ft} 6 in.$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Right side | $\ldots$ | $6 \mathrm{ft} 4 in.$. |
| Left side | $\ldots$ | 6 ft .3 in. |
| Back | $\ldots$ | $\ldots$ |
| $7 \mathrm{ft} 9 in.$. |  |  |

The top of the rock is flat.
The workmanship of the sculptures is exceedingly rough, and they can hardly be assigned to a date earlier than the Parthian Period; moreover, the streamers and other details of dress on the central figure suggest that it probably represents some Sassanian king. ${ }^{1}$

Near this monolith, on the steep slope between the plain and the foot of the Rock, are large numbers of broken burnt bricks, showing that a building, probably of the Sassanian Period, once stood here. The site has now been filled up by the earth and debris which have been washed down by the rains from the cliff above. There are traces of a track from the spring round the end of the cliff into this higher ground, passing among the fallen rocks to the left of the present caravan route to Hamadan. On the other side of the caravan route many of the fallen blocks have been shaped where they lie, but they have not been removed. Among them are a few modern gravestones. The building for which the blocks were prepared probably stood near the monolith, 250 to 300 feet above the plain, and commanded an extensive view. Here it would be sheltered by the projecting end of the range from the high wind which sometimes, for days together, blows down the valley from the direction of Kermanshah.

The last work to be noticed in connexion with the rock sculptures at Behistûn is opposite the village of Bisutûn. Here, at some height above the plain, the face of the rock has been

[^8]
cut away and a smooth surface formed, which measures from 80 to 100 feet in height, and from 500 to 540 feet in width (see Plate XII). The total width of the space on the rocks on which workings are visible is about 600 feet, and the toolmarks of the masons, which are in curved lines, are still to be seen on the half-prepared surface of the rock. Above the cutting the natural rock projects irregularly, in some places, for several feet. Immediately in front of it is a terrace, or platform, made The platform of earth and rocks, heaped up and extending forward from the in front of the rock. rock for a distance of nearly 300 feet. This platform was never finished, and its front edge still retains the angle formed by the earth and stones as they were thrown down from above. At the base of the slope are the remains of a massive wall, apparently unfinished, formed of rough-hewn stones, and clearly intended to serve as the retaining wall of the platform.

According to some, the rock was cut away and smoothed to receive colossal sculptures, but a careful examination of the whole area suggests that it was intended as the site of a palace, possibly of some Sassanian king. If this view be correct, the palace would have been built up against the mountain, and some of its chambers would have been hewn out of the living rock. The sole disadvantage of the site is the absence of water, but it would have been quite easy to cut an underground conduit from the springs, which are opposite to the sculptures of Darius and Gotarzes, whence an ample supply could have been obtained. The palace itself was never begun, and when only half prepared the site was abandoned. The portion of the platform nearest the mountain is covered with large rocks, some of which are the result of the old workings, while others have fallen from the cliff above. At both ends of the worked surface of the rock the lower portions are in a more unfinished state than those of the centre, and it is evident that the masons worked down the rock in ledges, clearing and smoothing the surface as they went. The platform was made chiefly of the dobris removed from the workings. From a spectator in the plain below it hides
the lower portion of the smoothed surface of the rock, a fact which indicates that the worked area was not intended to receive sculptures. However, the platform would have formed an admirable site for a palace, enabling the occupants to obtain an extensive view of the plain, and rendering the building itself visible from a considerable distance.

The interpretation of the inscriptions of Darius.

By far the most important of all the inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings yet discovered, is the great Trilingual Inscription of Darius on the Rock at Behistûn. Of the part which this valuable document has played in cunciform decipherment no detailed description need be given here. ${ }^{1}$ It is sufficient to say that, although from the short inscriptions found at Persepolis and copied by Niebuhr and other travellers, Grotefend, Rask, Saint Martin, Burnouf, and especially Lassen, had succeeded in identifying correctly the values of many of the Persian characters, it was not until Sir Henry Rawlinson had made copies of the long text of Behistûn, that any real advance was made in the understanding and interpretation of the Old Persian language. Rawlinson was the first to translate correctly an Old Persian cuneiform text of any length, and the conclusions which he arrived at in 1847 are accepted by scholars to-day with comparatively small modifications. His "Memoir" on the Persian text of the Behistûn Inscription was published in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and is the foundation of ail subsequent researches. ${ }^{2}$

[^9]PLATE IX.


The examination of the Susian text was entrusted by Sir Henry The interpretaRawlinson to Edwin Norris, Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, to whom the first translation of that version of the tion of the inscriptions of Behistûn Inscription is due. ${ }^{1}$ The Babylonian version was first published and translated by Rawlinson himself. ${ }^{2}$ The interpretation of these texts showed that the Inscription was as valuable from a historical as from a philological point of view, supplying, as it does, a contemporaneous authoritative account of the struggles during the early years of the reign of Darius the Great, whereby he succeeded in establishing himself upon the Achaemenian throne and in consolidating his power throughout the various provinces of the vast Empire.

The texts of the Behistûn Inscription are divided into sections, each of which is introduced by the words, "Thus

Arrangement of the texts in sections.

[^10]a new subject. In each version the order of the sections is the same, but in the Persian text several of the sections are subdivided; and at the end of this text there are several sections of which equivalents are wanting on the Susian and Babylonian versions. It is probable that some portions of the Supplementary Texts, which are now obliterated, dealt with the subject matter of such sections. The Babylonian version often gives detailed numbers of the slain and of the captives, which are omitted by the Persian text and the Susian version.

With reference to the Epigraphs it may be noted that Epigraph A, which contains the name and genealogy of Darius, is wanting in the Babylonian version. The Epigraph L, which recorded the promulgation of the contents of the Inscription by means of duplicate copies, which were dispatched into all lands, is only found in the Susian version.

The following is an analysis of the Inscription giving the subject matter of the various sections and their numbers according to the different versions.

## I.-THE PRINCIPAL INSCRIPTION.

Subject of Sections. Persian. Susian. Babylonian.

Analysis of the Introduction : the titles and Inscription.
genealogy of Darius ; the extent of his empire and the character of his rule .
The murder of Smerdis by Cambyses, and the revolt of Gaumâta, the Magian, during thelatter's absence in Egypt
Gaumâtamakeshimselfking in Persia

Persian. Susian.

I-IX
I-IX
I-IX


Sculptured monolith near the Rock of Behistûn,
View looking towards the plain.

Subject of Sections.
Defeat and death of Gaumâta at the hands of Darius
Restoration of the kingdom under Darius ...
Summary referring to the achievements of Darius after becoming king ...
Rebellion of Atrina in Susiana and of NidintuBêl in Babylon... ..
Defeat and death of Atrina.
Defeat of an army of Ni-dintu-Bêl on the Tigris
Defeat of Nidintu-Bêl on the Euphrates
bylon, $\cdots$
Capture of Babylon, and death of Nidintu-Bêl ... Revolt of nine provinces during the Babylonian campaign
Rebellion of Martiya in Susiana; suppression of the rebellion by the Susians, and death of Martiya ... ... ... XXII-XXIII XXI XXII
Rebellion of Phraortes in Media; and battle fought by Hydarnes against the Medes

Persian. SUsian.
Babylonian.
Analysis of the Inscription.

Subject of Sections.
Analysis of the Three battles fought by Inscription.

Dâdarshish in Armenia
against the Armenian rebels
Two battles fought by Vaumisa in Assyria and in Armenia against the Armenian rebels ...
March of Darius from Babylon into Media; defeat and flight of Phraortes, who after his capture is tortured and crucified in Ecbatana
Rebellion of Citrantakhma in Sagartia ; his defeat by Takhmaspâda, followed by his torture and crucifixion in Arbela
Summary referring to the suppression of the rebellion in Media ... xxxiv xxvir xxviri
Rebellion of the Parthians and Hyrcanians against Hystaspes, who fought a battle with them in Parthia
Reinforcement of Hystaspes, who finally defeats the rebels
Summary recording the conquest of Parthia ...
Rebellion in Margianaunder Frâda suppressed by

Persian. Susian. Babylonian.

```
xXVI-XxVIII XXIII XXIV
XXIX-XXX XXIV XXV
XXXI-XXXII XXV XXVI
xxxill xXVI XXVII
```

(12)
$\mathbf{x x x y}$
XXVIII XXIX
XXXVI XXIX XXX


Sculptured monolith near the Rock of Behistûn.
View looking towards the mountain.

Subject of Sections.
Dâdarshish, governor of Bactria
Summary referring to the suppression of the rebellion in Bactria ... ...
Rebellion of Vahyazdâta in Persia

Captureof Vahyazdâta, after having been twice defeated by Artavardiya...
Crucifixion of Vahyazdâta in Uvâdaicaya in Persia.
Summary referring to the suppression of the rebellion in Persia
... ...
Rebellion in Arachosia instigated by Vahyazdâta against Vivâna, who defeats the rebels three times and slays their leaders ... ... ...
Summary referring to the suppression of the rebellion in Arachosia

Second rebellion of Babylon, while Darius was in Persia and Media, under Arakha, who was defeated and crucified in Babylon ...
Summary referring to the suppression of the second Babylonian rebellion ...
List of nine pretenders defeated by Darius

Persian. Susian. Babylonian.
XXXVIII XXXI XXXII Inscription.

Inscription.

| XXXIX | XXXII | XXXIII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| XL | XXXIII | XXXIV |
| XLI-XLII | XXXIV | XXXV |
| XLIII | XXXV | XXXVI |
|  |  |  |
| XLIV | XXXVI | XXXVII |

xxxviII
XXXIX
XLV-XLVII XXXVII XXXVIII

Subject of Sections.
Analysis of the Summary referring to the Inscription. conquests of Darius ... Revolt of the rebellious provinces through the dissemination of lies, and their conquest by Auramazda's help
Adjuration to future rulers to beware of lies
...
Affirmation of the truth of this record
Further achievements of Darius not recorded, lest they should be disbelieved...
The achievements of Darius unparalleled through Auramazda's favour
Adjuration to future rulers to make known and not conceal the record
...
The king helped by Auramazda and the other gods because of his righteousness ... ...
Adjuration to future rulers to beware of liars and wrong-doers ... ...
Adjuration to the beholder topreserve the Inscription and the sculptures, with blessings and curses on those who observe or disregard the king's wishes

LVIII XLVII XLVIII
LVIII XLVII XLVIII

LIX
XIVIII
XLIX
Persian. Susian. Babylonian.

| LIII | XLII | XLIII |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| LIV | XLIII | XLIV |
| LV | XLIV | XLV |

LVI-LVII XLV-XLVI XLVI-XLVII

LX-LXI XLIX
L

PLATE XII.


Scarped surface and platform at the base of the Rock of Behistûn.

Subject of Sections. Persian. Susian. Babylonian.
The names of the supporters of Darius against Gaumâta, the Magian, and a recommendation of them to the favour of future rulers
Summary referring to the writing of the Inscription Rebellion in Susiana, and defeat and death of the leader of the rebels at the hands of Gobryas ...
Summary referring to the suppression of the revolt in Susiana
... ...
Promise of prosperity to the worshipper of Auramazda
Rebellion in Scythia crushed by Darius

LXXIV
Summary referring to the suppression of the revolt in Scythia
Summary probably referring to the help bestowed by Auramazda ... ... Lxxvi

## II.-EPIGRAPHS.

Persian. Susian. $\begin{gathered}\text { Baby- } \\ \text { lonian. }\end{gathered}$
Description and genealogy of Darius ...
A A [Wanting].
Description of Gaumâta, the Magian ...
B $\quad$ B
Description of Atrina, the Susian pretender
Description of Nidintu-Bêl, the Babylonian pretender

C C C
D D D

|  |  | Perstan. | Susian. | $\begin{gathered} \text { Baby- } \\ \text { Lonian } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Analysis of the Inscription. | Description of Phraortes, the Median pretender | E | E | E |
|  | Description of Martiya, the Susian pretender ... | F | F | F |
|  | Description of Citrantakhma, the Sagartian pretender | G | G | G |
|  | Description of Vahyazdâta, the Persian pretender | H | H | H |
|  | Description of Arakha, the Babylonian pretender | I | I | I |
|  | Description of Frâda, the Margian pretender ... | J | J | J |
|  | Description of Skunkha, the Scythian ... | K | K | K |
|  | Record of the publication of the Inscription by means of duplicate copies sent unto all lands and peoples | [Wanting.] | L | [Wanting.] |

The chronology of the Inscription.

The chronology of the events recorded in the Behistûn Inscription is somewhat obscure, and has formed the subject of much study and discussion. Unlike the inscriptions of many of the native kings of Babylon and Assyria, the text of Darius contains no mention of any regnal year; events are dated merely by the month, and the day of the month, on which they happened. From evidence other than that supplied by the inscription itself, it is possible to fix the year in which Cambyses and the Pseudo-Smerdis met their deaths and Darius succeeded to the throne of Persia. We may conclude that these events took place in the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses, that is to say, B.C. 52 I . The systems of chronology adopted for fixing the dates of the subsequent events recorded in the text, have been based on the names of the Persian months, and on their identification with the months of the Babylonian Calendar. From the Behistûn Inscription we learn the Old Persian names of nine months; of these the Babylonian version enables us to identify five with months of the

PLATE XIII.
Key to the positions of the Persian, Susian, and Babylonian Epigraphs on the Rock of Behistûn.

Babylonian Calendar, but the Babylonian equivalents of the The Old other four are unfortunately wanting in the text. The names ${ }^{\text {Persian }}$ of the three remaining months of the Old Persian Calendar are unknown. The uncertainty surrounding the exact sequence of the events recorded in the Inscription, and the fact that as many as seven of the months of the Old Persian Calendar can only be theoretically ascertained, have produced a considerable divergence of opinion among scholars as to the exact length of the period covered by the events recorded by Darius. With the view of enabling the reader to see at a glance the material afforded by the text itself for the solution of the problem, a list is here appended of the dates which occur in the Inscription. To the Persian names of the months are List of dates added their equivalents in Susian and Babylonian, so far as they have been preserved or may be restored from parallel passages :-

## Persian.

Col. I:
37f. 14th Viyakhna
42 9th Garmapada
55 f. Ioth Bâgayâdish
89 26th Atriyâdiya
96 2nd Anâmaka
Col. II :
26 27th Anâmaka
36 8th Thuravâhara
41 18th Thuravâhara
46f. 9th Thâigarcish
56 15th Anâmaka
61 End of Thuravahara
69 25th Adukanisha
98 [22nd] Viyakhna

SUSIAN.
Col. I :
28f. [14th] Mikannash
32 gth Karmapattash
42 10th Pagiyatish
71 26th Ashshiyatiyash
76 f. 2nd Anamakkash

Col. II :

| 18f. 27th Anamakkash | 1. 46 | 27th Tebet |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 27 | 8th Turmar | 1. 50 |
| [8th Iyyar] |  |  |
| 31 | 18th Turmar | 1.51 | [18th Iyyar]

$$
\text { 76f. Ist Karmapattash } \quad 1.67 \quad \text { Ist } \ldots . .]
$$

83f. 23rd Ashshiyatiyash
Col. III:

| 12 | 12th [Turmar] | 1.75 | [12th Iyyar] |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 16 | [5th] Karmapattash | 1.77 | [5th.....] |
| 26 | 13th Anamakkash | 1.81 | [13th Tebet] |
| 29 | 7th Miyakannash | 1. 82 | [7th Adar] |
| 43 | 22nd Markazanash | 1.88 | [22nd.....] |

1. I 5 14th Adar
I. 17 [9th . . . . .]
2. 23 [roth .....]
3. 36 26th Kislev
4. $3^{8}$ [2nd Tebet]
I. 46 27th Tebet
5. 50 [8th Iyyar]
6. 51 [ 88 th Iyyar]
7. 52 9th Sivan
8. 55 I5th Tebet
9. 56 30th Iyyar
I. 59 [25th.....]
10. 65 f. 22nd [Adar]
11. 70 [23rd Kislev]
12. 75 [12th Iyyar]
13. 77 [5th . ....]
. 81 [13th Tebet]
14. 88 [22nd .....]

Identification of the months of the Old Persian Calendar.

Genealogy of Darius.

From this list we obtain the five following equations :-

$$
\begin{aligned}
\text { Thuravâhara } & =\text { Iyyar } ; \quad \text { Thâigarcish }
\end{aligned}=\text { Sivan ; } \quad \begin{aligned}
\text { Atriyâdiya } & =\text { Kislev; Anâmaka }=\text { Tebet ; } \\
& \text { Viyakhna }=\text { Adar. }
\end{aligned}
$$

The four months Adukanisha, Bâgayâdish, Garmapada, and [Markazana] remain to be identified with four of the seven Babylonian months, Nisan, Tammuz, Ab, Elul, Tisri, Marchesvan, and Sebat. In addition to the information derived from the Inscription, some help has been obtained for their identification from the study of the dates found on Babylonian contract tablets of the period. The available material has been discussed and commented upon by several scholars, and various systems of chronology have been propounded. ${ }^{1}$ To describe these at length does not fall within the scope of this publication, and it is sufficient to state that there is something to be said for the view which identifies Garmapada with Tammuz, Bâgayâdish with Tisri, Adukanisha with Marchesvan, and [Markazana] with Sebat. In accordancé with these identifications, the rebellions in the different provinces of the Persian Empire, the suppression of which is recorded in the Inscription, have been supposed to have taken place within the first nine years of the reign of Darius. ${ }^{2}$ To fix the exact chronology of the events is, after all, not a matter of supreme importance, for it is certain that they all took place during the early years of his reign.

The opening lines of the Inscription contain a list of the titles of Darius and his genealogy. From this we

[^11]learn that Darius was the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames the great grandson of Ariaramnes, and the great great-grandson of Teispes, whose father was Achaemenes, In this genealogy Darius traces his descent direct from Achaemenes, and, naturally, omits the names of kings who formed the collateral branch, and who also descended from Teispes. A reference to the two branches of the Achaemenian family may perhaps be seen in the words at the end of Section IV (see p. 3), which have been conjecturally translated, "In two lines have we been kings." The rest of the introductory paragraphs of the Inscription declare the dependence of Darius upon the grace and favour of Auramazda, ${ }^{1}$ the great national god of Persia, and define the limits of the Empire over which the king ruled. Among the provinces enumerated is "Sparda" (see p. 4), as to the identification of which much has been written. In "Sparda," the older scholars saw a reference to Sparta: others have connected it with Sepharad, and with Lycia, but the general weight of recent opinion is in favour of Lassen's suggestion that "Sparda" is Sardis, ${ }^{2}$ the chief city of Lydia.

The historical narrative begins in Section X (see p. 6), ${ }^{3}$ The historical which contains brief references to the reign of Cambyses, narrative. the son of Cyrus, the predecessor of Darius upon the throne of Persia, the murder of Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, the Egyptian campaign of Cambyses, and the general revolt of the Persians during his absence there. The exact period when Smerdis was murdered is not known, for after his death it was long believed by the Persians that he was

[^12]The PseudoSmerdis.

The accession of Darius.

His suppression of rebellions throughout the Empire.
living in close confinement. Gaumâta, the Magian (see Plate I, Frontispiece), made good use of this belief, and during the absence of Cambyses in Egypt appeared on the scene, and declaring himself to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, claimed the Persian throne. On hearing of the revolt, Cambyses hastened to return to Persia, but died on his way thither; according to the statement in the Inscription, he committed suicide (see p. 9). On the other hand, Herodotus states (iii, 64) that he died of a wound which he accidentally inflicted upon himself when mounting his horse, and that the point of his sword entered his thigh at the exact spot where he had once smitten the Egyptian god Apis. That Gaumâta succeeded in ascending the throne of Persia is proved by the fact that Babylonian contract-tablets, dated in his reign, have been discovered.

Gaumâta first raised his standard of revolt at Paishayâuvâdâ (see p. 8), but subsequently he transferred his head-quarters to Sikayauvatish (see p. 12) in the district of Nisâya in Media. Darius, accompanied by six Persian nobles who had sworn to support him, ${ }^{1}$ marched his small force against Gaumâta and attacked him in his stronghold. The pretender was slain, and Darius succeeded to the throne of Persia (в.с. 52I), and promptly abolished all the innovations which Gaumâta had inaugurated. The section (see p. 13 ff.) in which the reforms of Darius are described contains several phrases, the interpretation of which is conjectural ; but it is clear that Gaumâta had endeavoured to subvert the religıous and social customs of the country. By the rebuilding of the temples, and by the restoration of the ancient national usages, Darius, no doubt, gained great popularity.

Darius did not, however, at once succeed in making his sway effective throughout the Persian Empire, and the first few years of his reign were entirely occupied in the suppression of revolts which broke out in many of the provinces. He

[^13]

Portrait of Darlus the Great.


Portraits of the two Attendants of Darius,
himself tells us that he fought nineteen battles, and that, by the grace of Auramazda, he overthrew nine kings and made them captive (see p. 60 f .).

The earliest revolts broke out in Susiana and Babylon. In the former province Atrina (see Plate XV, No. I) headed a rebellion, but the troops which Darius sent against himi seized him and brought him before the king, who put him to death (see p. 17). In the latter province meanwhile Nidintu-Bêl (see Plate XV, No. II) had seated himself upon the throne, having declared himself to be Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon (в.с. 555-538). Darius marched on Babylon, but was met at the Tigris by an army of Nidintu-Bêl, which he routed. Continuing his triumphant progress, he came to the Euphrates, where he succeeded in inflicting a still more crushing defeat on the army commanded by Nidintu-Bêl in person. The pretender fled, accompanied by a few horsemen, to the capital; but Darius pursued him, and, having captured the city, put Nidintu-Bêl to death (see p. 21).

Whilst Darius was engaged in suppressing the revolt in Babylonia, a series of rebellions broke out in other provinces of the empire, and as he was unable to take the field in person at the moment, he despatched forces against them under the command of his trusted generals. In Susiana a fresh revolt had broken out, headed by Martiya (see Plate XV, No. IV); but this was not a serious matter, for it was suppressed by the Susians themselves, who were friendly to Darius and put Martiya to death (see p. 23). Another revolt, headed by Phraortes (see Plate XV, No. III), broke out in Media, this pretender having given himself out to be Khshathritha, of the family of Cyaxares. Against him Darius despatched his Persian general Hydarnes, but though, according to the Inscription, he succeeded in defeating the Medes at Marush, he was unable to stamp out the rebellion generally, and awaited the Second re bellion in Susiana headed by Martiya.

## Rebellion in

 Media headed by Phraortes.The campaigns of Hydarnes, Dâdarshish, and Vaumisa. coming of Darius with reinforcements (see p. 26). Another centre of rebellion was Armenia, and, with the view of keeping

Rebellion in Susiana headed by Atrina. First rebellion in Babylon headed by Nidintu-Bêl.
$\qquad$

Campaigns of the tribes in check, Darius despatched thither a general

Dâdarshish and Vaumisa.

Defeat and death of Phraortes.

Rebellion in Sagartia headed by Citrantakhma.

Subjugation of Parthia by Hystaspes. named Dâdarshish, an Armenian, with such forces as he could spare. Dâdarshish thrice engaged the rebels in battle, and on each occasion he was victorious; he was, however, unable to quell the rebellion entirely, and awaited the coming of Darius (see p. 30). On learning this, Darius sent another general, Vaumisa the Persian, who, having defeated the rebels in two pitched battles, decided, like Dâdarshish, to await the coming of Darius (see p. 33). Such was the state of affairs in the provinces when Darius, having established his supremacy in Babylon, was free to turn his attention to other rebellious districts.

From Babylon Darius marched into Media, where he attacked Phraortes, without delay, at Kundurush ; the pretender was defeated and fled with a few horsemen to Ragā. He was captured soon after and brought before Darius, who, having sheared off his nose and ears and put out his eyes and cut out his tongue, loaded him with fetters and had him exhibited before the people at the gate of his palace in Ecbatana, and subsequently had him crucified (see p. 47). To quell the revolt in Sagartia, which was headed by Citrantakhma (see Plate XV, No. V, and Plate XVI, No. I), who also gave himself out to be of the family of Cyaxares, Darius sent a general, Takhmaspâda the Mede. The pretender was defeated, and, having been brought before Darius, was, by his orders, mutilated like Phraortes, and was afterwards crucified in the city of Arbela (see p. 39). Meanwhile, the claims put forward by Phraortes had brought over to his side the Parthians and Hyrcanians, who had also revolted. Hystaspes, the father of Darius, who was in command of the loyal troops in Parthia, attacked the rebels and defeated them, and, having been reinforced by Darius from Ragâ, succeeded in crushing the rebellion and in reducing Parthia to a state of submission (see p. 43). Rebellion in $\int$ About this time the revolt of Margiana, under the leadership Margiana headed by Frâda. of Frâda (see Plate XVI, No. IV), took place ; but Dâdarshish, the governor of Bactria, succeeded in defeating the rebels

PLATE XV.


III

Portraits of the rebel leaders,
Atrina, the Susian pretender.
III. Fravartish (Phraortes), the Median pretender.
IV. Martiya, the Susian pretender.
V. Citrantakhma, the Sagartian pretender.
and in bringing the whole district under the sway of Darius (see p. 46).

Whilst Darius was absent from Persia, and engaged in quelling the revolts in Babylonia, Armenia, Media, and the neighbouring districts, a second rebellion took place in Persia itself. This rising was headed by Vahyazdâta (see Plate XVI, No. II), and, like Gaumâta, the new pretender declared himself to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who had been secretly murdered by Cambyses. For a time he was successful, and the Inscription states that he actually made himself king in Persia. Against him Darius sent the Persian general Artavardiya, who defeated him in two battles, and, having captured him, crucified him by the king's command (see p. 51). Now Vahyazdâta had sent emissaries into Arachosia, where they fomented a revolt against Vivâna, the governor who had been set over the district by Darius. Vivâna attacked and defeated the rebels three times, and, having slain their leader, finally stamped out the rebellion (see p. 55).

During the absence of Darius in Media and Persia, the Babylonians seized the opportunity of rebelling a second time against him ; their leader on this occasion was Arakha (see Plate XVI, No. III), who, like Nidintu-Bêl, declared himself to be Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus. Against him Darius sent the Persian general Intaphernes (Vindafranâ), who defeated him and captured the city. Arakha was seized and bound in fetters, and with his chief followers was crucified in Babylon by the king's command (see p. 59). With the account of the defeat of Arakha the historical section of the principal text of Behistûn comes to an end. And it is clear that Darius ordered the sculptures and inscriptions to be cut on the Rock soon after the return of his victorious

The cutting of the Inscriptions at Behistân. army from the second expedition against Babylon. Here the great king took pains to have portraits carefully carved of the nine pretenders, who had stirred up rebellions in so many of the provinces of his Empire and had been defeated and put to death by the king and his generals (see

The carving of the sculptures at Behistunn.

Supplementary records at Behistun.

Plates I and III). The first pretender is Gaumâta, the first Pseudo-Smerdis, whom we see lying prostrate, with the king's foot planted on his body. Following him is a line of nine figures, bound and roped by the neck, the first eight of whom represent the leaders whose rebellions have been described. Taken in order from left to right these are :-

1. Atrina, the first Susian pretender.
2. Nidintu-Bêl, the first Babylonian pretender.
3. Fravartish (Phraortes), the Median pretender.
4. Martiya, the second Susian pretender.
5. Citrantakhma, the Sagartian pretender.
6. Vahyazdâta, the second Pseudo-Smerdis.
7. Arakha, the second Babylonian pretender.
8. Frâda, the Margian pretender.

At periods later than that wherein the above figures were sculptured, Darius caused some supplementary records to be inscribed upon the rock, one of which gives an account of a third Susian rebellion. This was, however, successfully suppressed by the Persian general Gobryas, who, on being sent into Susiana by Darius, defeated the rebels, captured and slew their leader, and reduced the province for the third time to subjection (see p. 8I). Still later Darius himself marched into Scythia to suppress a rebellion which had broken out. From the Persian account of this campaign we learn that it was successfully suppressed by Darius, who, on his return to Persia, caused a description of the campaign and a figure of Skunkha, the Scythian leader (see Plate XVI, No. V), to be added to the other sculptures and records on the Rock. In order to find room for Skunkha's figure, he destroyed the greater part of the first supplementary column of the Susian version. This is well seen on Plate III.

The appeal of Darius to posterity.

The last portion of the main inscription at Behistûn ends with a series of appeals to the kings who might in future days occupy the throne of Persia to believe the record which is carved upon the Rock and to publish it to the world, and to


III

## Portralts of the rebel leaders.

1. Citrantakhma, the Sagartian pretender.
II. Vahyazdâta, the Persian pretender.
III. Arakha, the Babylonian pretender.
IV. Frâda, the Margian pretender.
V. Skunkha, the Scythian.
preserve both text and sculptures from destruction. Darius calls Auramazda to witness that what he has said is the truth and he appeal of Darius to posterity. not lies. In order to induce the kings, his successors, to proclaim his works and to preserve the inscription, he promises them, in the event of their so doing, that Auramazda shall befriend them and grant them long life, good fortune, and a numerous posterity. On the other hand, if they destroy his records or efface them, he invokes the wrath of Auramazda upon them, and declares that the god will bring misfortune and destruction upon them and their race. Finally he commits to the protection of future kings the six Persian nobles who supported him in his struggle against Gaumâta, the PseudoSmerdis.

We owe the preservation of the great inscription of Darius entirely to the fact that it was cut on the precipitous face of the Rock, which is extremely difficult of access. To place his record as far as possible beyond the reach of enemies, he cut away the natural irregularities, and smoothed the surface of the rock for a considerable space below the inscription. The king's care and foresight have been rewarded, for both sculptures and inscription have escaped mutilation at the hands of man, and the only damage which they have suffered has been caused by weathering and infiltration of water through the strata to the face of the rock. Darius did not, however, depend upon the Behistûn Inscription alone to make known his exploits to the world, for he caused copies of it to be made and despatched to the peoples in the different provinces of his Empire (see p. 157). A fragment of a copy of the Babylonian version has recently been found at Babylon (see p. 179), and we may hope that future excavations in Mesopotamia and in Persia will result in the discovery of other copies, by means of which the lacunae, which still exist in the Inscription and its versions, may be filled up.

## LIST OF PROPER NAMES.

## A

Achaemenes, father of Teispes and ancestor of the Achaemenian kings; Gr. 'A $\chi a \iota \mu i \nu \eta s$.


Bab.: YY Y

## Achaemenian.


 Hakhàmanišiyâ, Col. I., 7 ; A, 10.




Adar, the twelfth month of the Babylonian Calendar.

Adukanisha, month of the Old Persian Calendar.



Agamatanu, see Ecbatana (Bab.)
Ainaira, see Aniri' (Pers, and Sus.)
Airu, see Iyyar.
Akamannishiya, see Achaemenian (Sus.).
Akhamanish', see Achaemenes, Achaemenian (Bab.).

Akkamannish，Akkamannishshiya，see Achaemenes，Achae－ menian（Sus．）．

Akmatana，see Ecbatana（Sus．）．
Alpirti，Apirti，see Susiana，Susian（Sus．）．
Altita，see Haldita（Sus．）．
Anâmaka，month of the Old Persian Calendar，corresponding to the Babylonian month Tebet．
 Anâmakahya，Col．I．， 96 ；Col．II．，26，56；Col．III．， 62.
Sus．： $2 \boldsymbol{\gamma}$ Y 43；Col．III．， 26.
Bab．：see Tebet．
Anamakkash，see Anâmaka（Sus．）．
Aniri＇，father of Nidintu－Bêl．
〈动 r 人市，Aina［ira］hya，Col．I．， 77 f．
Sus．：Y Y

Arabaya，Arabi，see Arabia（Pers，and Bab．）．
Arabia，province of the Persian Empire．

Sus．：Y－


Arachosia，province of the Persian Empire．

 Loc．竍人 72， 76.

 matis，Col．III．， 2 I， 23 f．， 3 I， 34 f．


Arakadri＇，see Arakadrish（Bab．）．
Arakadrish，mountain in Persia．



Arakha，the Babylonian pretender．
Pers．：TVY 《＜YY，Arakha，Col．III．，78，［91］；Col．IV．， 28 f．；I，I；



Arakhu，Arakka，see Arakha（Bab．and Sus．）．
Arakkatarrish，see Arakadrish（Sus．）．
Arba＇il，Arbaira，see Arbela（Bab．and Pers．）．
Arbela，city in Assyria．
 K－शYY，Arbairâyâ，Col．II．， 90.
Sus．：－

Ardimanish，see Ardumanish（Bab．）．
Ardumanish，one of the chief supporters of Darius．



Arêmu，see Aria（Bab．）．
Aria，province of the Persian Empire．
Pers．：〈人



 $\Rightarrow$ Ell $=$ (m)Arriyanam, Col. III., 77, 79.

Ariaramna', see Ariaramnes (Bab.).
Ariaramnes, father of Arsames, and great-grandfather of Darius; Gr. 'A $\rho \iota a \rho a ́ \mu \nu \eta s$.

 Col. I., 5 ; A, 7.
Sus. $\boldsymbol{Y}=Y$ YYY A, 4,5 .

Ariya, see Aria (Sus.).
Ariyâramna, see Ariaramnes (Pers.)
Armenia, province of the Persian Empire.
 Arminam, Col. II., 30, 32, 50, $5^{2}$; Loc. (from form Arminiya),


Sus.: $Y$ <tho (m)Arminiya; Plur. "inhabitants of,"

 Col. II., 29.
Bab.: A九 $\left[5^{2}\right], 53,[54], 56$.

## Armenian.

 Col. IV., 29.
Sus.: $\dagger$ - Ey

Bab.: At
Armina, Arminiya, see Armenia, Armenian (Pers, and Sus.).
Arpaya, see Arabia (Sus.).
Arpera, see Arbela (Sus.).

Arraumatish, see Arachosia (Sus.).
Arriya, see Arian.
Arriyaramna, see Ariaramnes (Sus.).
Arsames, father of Hystaspes, and grandfather of Darius; Gr. 'A $\rho \sigma$ á $\mu \eta s$.


 Col. I., 3 (bis) ; A, 4 (bis).

Arshâdâ, fortress in Arachosia.


Arshâma, see Arsames (Pers.).
Artamarzi, Artamarzia, see Artavardiya (Bab.).
Artavardiya, general of Darius.

 36, 43 .




Artumannish, see Ardumanish (Sus.).
Arukhatti, see Arachosia (Bab.).
Asagarta, Asagartiya, see Sagartia, Sagartian (Pers.).
Ashina, see Atrina (Sus. and Bab.).
Ashshakartiya, see Sagartia (Sus.).
Ashshina, see Atrina (Sus.).
Ashshiyatiyash, see Atriyâdiya (Sus.).
Ashshur, Ashshura, see Assyria (Bab, and Sus.).

Assyria, province of the Persian Empire,
Pers. : $\overline{Y Y Y} Y\rangle\langle\overline{Y Y} \overline{Y Y Y}$, Athurâ, Col. I., 14 ; Col. II., 7 ; Loc. $\overline{Y Y Y} Y\langle$

 (det)Ašsuran, Col. II., 4I ; Plur. "inhabitants of," Y EY = YY Y YY, ( $m$ ) Ašsurap, Col. I., 10 f .
 1. 40 .

Athurâ, see Assyria (Pers.).
Atrina, the Susian pretender.





Atriyâdiya, month of the Old Persian Calendar, corresponding to the Babylonian month Kislev.


 Col. II., 84.
Bab. : see Kislev.
Atukannash, see Adukanisha (Sus.).
Auramazda, the national god of Persia, Ahura-Mazda.
 $60,87,94$; Col. II., $24,34,39$ f., $45,54,60,68,86,96$; Col. III., 6, 16 f., $37,44,6 \mathrm{I}, 66,87$; Col. IV., 35, 44, 55, 58, 60, 62, 74, 76,
 Auramazdâm, Col. I., 54 f. ; Col. V., 18 f., 34 ; Gen. Fyy 〈yy =yyy Y $\rightarrow \boldsymbol{Y}$ TY YYY $\langle=\langle$, Auramazdâha, Col. I., II f., 14, 18 f., 22 f., 26,60 , $68,70,88,94$ f. ; Col. II., 3, 25, 35, 40,45 f., 54 f., $60,68,86$ f., 97 ; Col. III., 6 f ., $17,38,45,62,67,87 \mathrm{f}$. ; Col. IV., 4, 6, $4 \mathrm{I}, 46,52,60$; Col. V., 16 f., 32 f., 89.
Sus.: -- 人

## Auramazda-continued.

20 (bis), 2I, 22, 4I, 42 (bis), 45, 46, 52, 54, 69, 70, 75, 76, 80; Col. II., 17, 26 (bis), 30 (bis), 34 (bis), $4^{2}$ (bis), 46 (bis), $5^{2}$ (bis), 63 , 64, 7 I (bis), 75, 76, 82, 83 ; Col. III., ro, [r1], 15 (bis), 25 f. (bis), 28 (bis), 42 (bis), 48 (bis), 62, 66, 68, 69, 73, 74 f., [76], 77 (bis), 78 f., 86, 87, 88, 89 ; L, 2.
 74 (bis), 76 (bis), 80 (bis), $81,[87$ (bis)], [90], 96, [98], 103 (bis),


 (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da, Il. 10 (bis), 11, 22 (ter), 24 (bis), 27, 28, 35 (bis), 37 (bis), 39, 46 (bis), [50 (bis)], [5 I (bis)], [52 ], [55 (bis)], [56 (bis)];
 7 , 9 , [11].

Autiyâra, place in Armenia.



Autiyarush, see Autiyâra (Sus.).

## B

Bâbilu, see Babylon (Bab.).
Bâbirush, Bâbiruviya, see Babylon, Babylonian (Pers.).
Babylon, Babylonia, province of the Persian Empire.

 Col. II., 2, 3 (bis); Col. III., 82, 84, 87 ; Col. IV., 15, 30 ;

 Col. II., 5, 6 ; Col. III., 79, 83, 92 ; Col. IV., 2 ; D, 7 f. ; I, 11.
Sus.: =1 =1, (det.)Papili, Col. I., 61, 73, 79 f. (bis), 80,81 ; Col. II., 1, 49 ; Col. III., 37, 46, 47 ; 퀴 到, (m)Papili, Col. I., 66, 72 ; Col. III., 39 (bis), 42, 43 ; Col. IV., 2 ; see also Babylonian (plur.).

Babylon，Babylonia－continued．
 40， 57,85 （bis），［86（ter）］；平苜首，Bâbilu（kı），11．39， 87 （ter）， 89 （bis），［92］，［95］．
Babylonian．





 （m）Papilip，Col．I．，10，62， 63 ；Col．III．，36，38，［41］，52， 59 ；
 Col．III．， 39 f．；D， 5 f．；I， 5.
 （amêlu）Bâbila（kI）－a－a，l． 9 I ；Plur． 1．［85］．

Bactria，province of the Persian Empire．


Sus．：Y＝ （det．）Paǩ̌iš，Col．II．，80 f．， 85.

Bagâbigna，father of Hydarnes．



Bagabukhsha，see Megabyzus（Pers．）．
Bâgayâdish，month of the Old Persian Calendar．



Bakhtar，Bâkhtrish，see Bactria（Bab．and Pers．）．
Bardiya，Barzia，see Smerdis（Pers．and Bab．）．

## C

Cambyses, king of Persia; Gr. Ka $\mu \beta \dot{v} \sigma \eta$ §.

 46; Gen. Y = $\langle\bar{Y}$ -
 40.

Sus.: Y গm 29, 30, 32 f. (bis), 34, 35.
 16 (bis), 17 (bis), 18, [19].

Cappadocia, province of the Persian Empire.



Bab.: A
Chorasmia, province of the Persian Empire.




Cicikhrish (Cincikhrish), father of Martiya.


Sus. : = = ITl
Bab.: Y 〈Y
Cimmerians, land of the.

Cishpish, see Teispes (Pers.).

Citrantakhma，the Sagartian pretender．
 20；G．I f．；Acc．$\overline{W^{2}}$ 市 $\overline{Y Y}=|Y\rangle\langle\langle Y\rangle=\gamma Y Y-Y Y Y$ ，Citra（n）takhmam，
 Col．II．， 86.
 Col．III．， 54 f．；G，I．
 ［93］；$Y$ 〈

Cyaxares，king of Media；Gr．Kva $\xi$ uip $\eta$ s．


 G， 8 f．
 Col．III．，54， 55 ；E， 3 f．；G， 3 f．
Babo：Y smm Ey Ey $\hat{H}$ ，（m）U－ma－ku－ǐ̌－tar，ll．43，61， 93 （bis）； E，4；G， 3 ．

Cyrus，king of Persia；Gr．K $\hat{v}$ pos．
 Col．I．，28，39， 53 ；Col．III．， 25 ；Col．IV．，9， 27 f．；B， 5 f．；H， 6 f．
 3，50，58， 93 ；B， 2 ；H． 4.
Bab．：Y （m）Ku－ras，11．［91］， 94 ；B． 3 ．

## D

Dadarshish，general of Darius．
 Acc．TY TYY TY＝रो 令－YyY，Dadarsim，Col．II．，33，38， 44.
 32 f．， 36.
 ［52］，［53］．

Dadarshish, Persian governor of Bactria.

 (m) Tatursiš, Col. II., 80.

Dadarshu, see Dâdarshish (Bab.).
Dâduhya, father of Megabyzus.




Daraya, see Sea (the Islands) of the (Pers.).
Dârayavaush, Dariamush, see Darius (Pers. and Bab.).
Darius, king of Persia; Gr. $\Delta a \rho \varepsilon i o s . ~$
 I3, 17 f., 20, 24, $27,35,44,48,6 \mathrm{r}, 7 \mathrm{r}, 73,8 \mathrm{r}, 83,90$; Col. II., $\mathrm{I}, 5,8,1 \mathrm{I}, 13 \mathrm{f} ., 18,29,37,42 \mathrm{f}, 49,57,64,70,78,.9 \mathrm{I}, 92$; Col. III., 1,9 , 10 f., 19 f., $21,29,40,49,53,54,64,69,75,76,83$; Col. IV., $\mathrm{r}, 2 \mathrm{f} ., 3 \mathrm{r}, 33,36,40,43,45,50,53,57,59,6 \mathrm{f}$., 67 , 69 f., $72,76,80,86,88$; Col. V., $1,14,18,20,30,[34]$; A, 1,4 f.,
 Col. III., 58 f.
 $8,9,15,17,19$ f., $2 \mathrm{I}, 33,37,46,55,56,63$ f., $65,7^{2}, 7^{8}$; Col. II., I, 4,8 f., $21,37,49,58,67,68,73,77,78,84$; Col. III., [1], 4, 18, $19,20,23,34,35,46,47,59$ f., $6 \mathrm{I}, 63,65,68,69,72,73,76$ f., 78 , 82 f., 84,89 ; A, 1, 2 f., 6, 9 ; L, 1.
 [7], 8, 10, 11, 15, 17, 19, 24, 28, 29, 32, 33, [36], 38, 40, 41, 42, [48], 53, 57, [61], [64 (bis)], [66], 68 (bis), 70, [71], 72, 77, 78 (bis), [80], 84 (bis), 89 (bis), [95], [96], [97], [98], 99 (bis), го0, 101, [103], [104], 105, [106], [109].

Diglat, see Tigris (Bab.).

Drangiana, province of the Persian Empire.
Pers.: $Y \rightarrow Y=Y$ Y, Zara(n)ka, Col. I., 16 .
Sus. : [Y - YY


Dubâla, district in Babylonia.

Sus. : - YYYYY =Y [-EM], (det.)Tuppa[la], Col. III., 37.

## E

Ecbatana, capital of Media.


Sus. : -

Egypt, province of the Persian Empire.



 Col. II., 2 f.

Elam, province of the Persian Empire (see Susiana).
Bab.: A A (mâtu)Elamat(ki), ll. 5, 30, [3I], [33], 40, 42, 91 (bis); [92 (bis)];
 Elamat(kI), 30 .

Elamite.
Bab.: Sing. (amêlu)Elamn(кı), 1. [91]; Plur.〈

Euphrates，the river．
Pers．：〈鸟 Y －Yミ YYY，Ufrâtuva，Col．I．， 92.



Frada，the Margian pretender．




## Fravartish，see Phraortes（Pers．）．

## G

Gandara，province of the Persian Empire．
Pers．：〈｜Y TY YYY＝Y，$G a(n)$ dâra，Col．I．， 16.
Sus．and Bab．：see Paruparaesanna．
Gandutava，district in Arachosia．



Garmapada，month of the Old Persian Calendar．
 Garmapadahya，Col．I．， 42 ；Col．III．， 7 f．， 46.
Sus．：$\Rightarrow Y$ EYEMY Y Col．III．， 16.
Gaubaruva，see Gobryas（Pers．）．
Gaumâta，the Pseudo－Smerdis．
 Col．IV．，7；B， x ；Acc．$\left\langle\mathrm{YY}^{2}\langle\overline{\mathrm{YY}}-\mathrm{YYY}\right.$ FYY＝YyY－YyY，Gaumatam， Col．I．， 49 f．，54， 57,73 ；Col．IV．， 8 I．
Sus．：$Y$ Ex YEY E－YT，（ m ）Gaumatta，Col．I．，28， 33 f．， 34 f．，38， 41，43，48，50，54， 56 f．；Col．III．，49， 92 f．；B，I．
Bab．：Yes Mr，（m）Gu－ma－a－tu，11．15， 18 （bis），20，［22］，23，25，
 （m）Gu－ma－a－ti，1．109．

Gaumatta, see Gaumâta (Sus.).
Gauparma, see Gobryas (Sus.).
Gimiri, see Cimmerians.
Gobryas, general of Darius and one of his chief supporters; Gr. T $\omega$ ß púas.
 9, 1 I.
Sus. : Y-Ex~y Y客, Gauparma, Col. III., 90.

Gubaru', see Gobryas (Bab.).
Gumâtu, see Gaumâta (Bab.).

## H

Hagmatana, see Ecbatana (Pers.).
Hakhâmanish, Hakhâmanishiya, see Achaemenes, Achaemenian (Pers.).

Haldita, father of Arakha,
 Halditahya, Col. III., 79.
Sus.: $Y \leadsto-Y_{\mathrm{I}}=\mathrm{M}$, (m)Altita, Col. III., $3^{6 .}$
Haraiva, see Aria (Pers.).
Harauvatish, see Arachosia (Pers.).
Huttana, see Otanes (Sus.).




Hyrcania, province of the Persian Empire.




Hystaspes, father of Darius; Gr. ${ }^{\text {' } \Upsilon \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \sigma \pi \eta ร . ~}$


 Col. I., 2 f., 4 ; A, 3,5 f.
 Col. III., 69, 70, 71 f., 73 f., 74 (bis), 76 ; A, 1,3 f. (bis).
 66 (ter), [67].

Iámanu, see Ionia (Bab.).
Imanish, Immaneshu, see Ummannish (Pers, and Bab.).
Intaphernes, general of Darius and one of his chief supporters; Gr. 'I $\nu \tau a \phi \in ́ \rho \nu \eta s$.
 Col. IV., 83.
Sus.: $\boldsymbol{Y}\langle\boldsymbol{L}$ 42 f . 89 f .



Ionia, province of the Persian Empire.
Pers.: Plur. "inhabitants of," $\left\langle<\left\langle\overline{Y Y}\right.\right.$ Lै $^{2}$ [YYY], Yaunâ, Col. I., 15 .
 $\Rightarrow$ Y Y Y YY, (m) Iyaunap, Col. I., II f.

Irshama, Irshamma, see Arsames (Sus.).
Irshata, see Arshada (Sus.).
Irtumartiya, see Artavardiya (Sus.).
Ishkunka, see Skunkha (Sus.).
Ishparta, see Sparda (Sus.).
Iutia, see Yautiyá (Bab.).
Iyauna, see Ionia (Sus.).
Iyyar, the second month of the Babylonian Calendar.
Bab.: క<< ㅌFF, (arhu)Airu, 11. [50], [51], 56, [75]; see also Thuravâhara.

Izzila, place in Assyria.
Pers. $\Rightarrow$ [....] TYY, $I[\ldots] \hat{a}$, Col. II., 53.
Sus. : - EYYY EY, (det.) Izzila, Col. II., 4 r.

## K

Kambujiya, Kambuzia, see Cambyses (Pers. and Bab.).
Kampada, district in Media.
Pers.: YF $\overline{\frac{7}{V Y}} \overline{Y Y}, K a(m) p a d a$, Col. II., 27.
Suš.: - =Y EYY = = Y Y Y Y, (det.)Kampantaš, Col. II., 20.

Kampantash, see Kampada (Sus.).
Kanpuziya, see Cambyses (Sus.).
Kantuma[..], see Gandutava (Sus.).
Kápishakânish, fortress in Arachosia.



Kappishshakanish, see Kâpishakânish (Sus.).
Karmapattash, see Garmapada (Sus.).
Katpatuka, Katpatukka, Katpatukash, see Cappadocia (Pers., Bab. and Sus.).

Khambanu, see Kampada (Bab.).
Khashatrêti, Khashatritti, Khashatritu, see Khshathrita (Bab.).
Khshathrita, name assumed by Phraortes, the Median pretender.
Pers.: 〈<Y § Y 19; E, 6.
Sus.: YY - YYY $\Rightarrow \uparrow$ E-YY, (m) Šattarritta, Col. III., 54 ; E, 2 f.

 ( $m$ ) Ha-sa-at-ri-it-ti, 1. 43.

## Khumarizmu，see Chorasmia（Bab．）．

Kislev，the ninth month of the Babylonian Calendar．
Bab．：క＜＜（arhu）Kislimu，ll．36，［70］；see also Atriyâdiya．
Kislimu，see Kislev．
Kuganaka，city in Persia．

Sus．：$-Y>Y \Rightarrow Y$ ，（det．）Kukkannakan，Col．II．， 5.
Bab．：Eリリ
Kugunakka，Kukkannakan，see Kuganaka（Bab．and Sus．）．
Kundur，see Kundurush（Bab．）．
Kundurush，city in Media．

Sus．：－YY EYY Y EyYy＝uY，（det．）Kuntarrus，Col．II．， 50.

Kuntarrush，see Kundurush（Sus．）．
Kurash，Kurush，see Cyrus（Bab．，Sus．，and Pers．）

## M

Máda，Madâ，see Media，Median（Pers．and Bab．）．
Magabudishu，see Megabyzus（Bab．）．
Magian．
 Col．IV．， 8 ；B， 2 ；Acc．${ }^{\text {ry }}$ 〈YY－YyY，Magum，Col．I．，50，54， 57， 73 ；Col．IV．，81．
 54， 57 ；Col．III．，49， 93 ；B，r．
Babo： $1, M a-$ gu－šu，11．［15］， 18 （bis），20，［22］，23，25，26， 28 ； ES A ，（amêlu）Ma－gu－su，11．29，90，110；B， 2 ．

Magush，Magushu，see Magian（Pers．and Bab．）
Maka，province of the Persian Empire
Pers．：－Yy YF，Maka，Col．I．， 17.
Sus．：Y Y｜＝1，（m）Makka，Col．I．，I4．

Makishtarra, see Cyaxares (Sus.).
Makka, see Maka (Sus.).
Makush, see Magian (Sus.).
Marashmiya, see Chorasmia (Sus.).
Mardonius, father of Gobryas; Gr. Mapónıos.




Marduniya, see Mardonius (Pers.).
Margava, see Margian (Pers.).
Margiana, province of the Persian Empire.




 J, 2.

Margian.

 Mârgavaibis, Col. III., 16.
 Col. III., 56 .

Margu', Margumá, see Margiana, Margian (Bab.).
Margush, see Margiana (Pers.).
Markazanash, month of the Old Persian Calendar, the Susian form of the name.

Markush, see Margiana (Sus.).

Marratu，the Persian Gulf，see Sea（the Islands）of the（Bab．）．
Martia，see Martiya（Bab．）．
Martiya，the Susian pretender．


Sus．：Y＝YY－ 1 动前，（m）Martiya，Col．II．，4， 7 f．；Col．III．， $5^{2}$ ；F，I．
 （m）Mar－ti－ia，I． 42.

Martuniya，see Mardonius（Sus．）．
Maru＇，see Marush（Bab．）．
Marush，city in Media．

Sus．：－YEl Ery̌y＝rリ，（det．）Maruš，Col．II．， 16.

Mata，see Media（Sus．）．
Matezish［．．］，see Uvadaicaya（Sus．）．
Maukka，see Vahauka（Sus．）．
Maumishsha，see Vaumisa（Sus．）．
Media，province of the Persian Empire．
 Màdam，Col．I．， 47 ；Col．II．，22， 28 f．， 48 f．， 63,65 （bis）；Col．III．，
 59 ；Col．II．，15，17， 22 f．，28， 66 （bis），72， 92 ；Col．III．，77；E， 10 f．
Sus．：Y YE E－Y，（m）Mata；see also Median（plur．）．
 43,44 （ter）， 45 （ter）， 47 （bis），［53］， 57 （quat．），58，59，61，［64］，73， 84，［93］．

## Median，Mede．




 Mâdaisurvá，Col．II．， 23.

## Median，Mede－continued．

Sus．：Sing．YYE－YY，（m）Mata，Col．I．， 38 ；Col．II．， 61 ；Col．III．， 53 ； Plur．Y YE＝＝－YY 人，（m）Mata－pe，Col．I．，12，27，31，35，45， 5 I ； Col．II．，2，II， 12 （bis）， 13,14 f．， $16,17,20,21,48,49$ f．（bis）， 50,51 ， 60 f．， 67 ；Col．III．，［5］，6，35， 54 ；E， 5 ；－氝 E－ll $\prec$ ， （det．）Mata－pe，Col．II．，9， 15,16 ；Col．III．， 7 ；Y - －Y - ，Mata－pe， Col．II．， 37.
Bab．：At Ely YY YY，（mâtu）Ma－da－a－a，11．［20］，［43］， 46 （bis），［62］， 92.
Megabyzus，one of the chief supporters of Darius；Gr．Meүáßuそos．

Sus．：$\dagger=1$ Y（m）Pakapuksa，Col．III．，91．
Bab．：Y 튀敝
Mikannash，see Viyakhna（Sus．）．
Mimana，see Vivana（Sus．）．
Mintaparna，Mintaparna＇，see Intaphernes（Sus．and Bab．）．
Mirkaniya，see Hyrcania（Sus．）．
Mishparra，see Vayaspâra（Sus．）．
Mishpauzatish，see Vishpauzâtish（Sus．）．
Mishtashpa，see Hystaspes（Sus．）．
Mishtatta，see Vahyazdâta（Sus．）．
Miṣir，see Egypt（Bab．）．
Misparu＇，see Vayaspâra（Bab．）．
Mitarna，see Hydarnes（Sus．）．
Miyakannash，see Viyakhna（Sus．）．
Mudraya，Muzzariya，see Egypt（Pers．and Sus．）．

## N

Nabonidus，king of Babylon；Gr．Naßóvలiסos，Naßóvyךסos，к．т．$\lambda$ ．


 Col．I．， 79.

## Nabonidus－continued．


 Col．III．，38， 59 ；D， 4 f．
Bab．：Y－4 E上，（m．ihu）Nabi－na＇id，11．［32］，85，［92］，［95］；D， 4 ； I， 3 ．
Nabû－kudurri－uṣur，Nabukudracara，see Nebuchadnezzar（Bab． and Pers．）．

Nabû－na＇id，Nabunaita，see Nabonidus（Bab．and Pers．）．
Naditabira（Nadintabira），see Nidintu－Bêl（Pers．）．
Napkuturruzir，Napkuturrazir，Napkuturzir，see Nebuchad－ nezzar（Sus．）．

Napuneta，Nappuneta，see Nabonidus（Sus．）．
Nebuchadnezzar，son of Nabonidus．

 Nabuk（u）dracara，Col．I．， 78 f．，84， 93 ．

 （m）Napkuturrazir，D， 3 f．；Y＝－Y Y Ely，（m）Napkuturzir， I， 2 f．
 $37,85,[88], 91,[95] ; D, 3 ;$ I， 3.
Nidintu－Bêl，the Babylonian pretender．

行＝$=$ YY ，Naditabiram，Col．I．，80，84；Col．II．，4， 5 ；Gen．
 89，95．
 76，77，79，80， 8 I ；Col．III．， 5 I ；D，If．
Bab．：Y \＆\＆＝（m）Ni－din－tu－（ilu）Bêl，11． 34 （bis），［36］， 37 （bis），
 D，1；人 人

Nisáya, district in Media.


Bab.: it Niv NYY YY, (mâtu)Ni-is-sa-a-a, 1. 23.
Nishshaya, Nissâ, see Nisâya (Sus. and Bab.).
Nititpel, see Nidintu-Bêl (Sus.).

## 0

Otanes, one of the chief supporters of Darius; Gr. 'Otúivns.
Pers.: $[\langle\overline{Y Y}]=Y Y Y \overline{Y Y Y}[\mathcal{L}(],[U] t \hat{t}[n a]$, Col. IV., 83 .
Sus.: $Y=-Y\rangle\langle Y=-Y Y$, (m)Huttana, Col. 1II., 90.


## P

Pagiyatish, see Bagayadish (Sus.).
Paishiyâuvâdá, district in Persia.


 Paiši [yâ]uvâdâyâ, Col. I., 36 f.

 Col. I., 28 ; Col. III., [13].

Pakapikna, see Bagâbigna (Sus.).
Pakapuksha, see Megabyzus (Sus.).
Pakshish, see Bactria (Sus.).
Papili, see Babylon (Sus.).
Parada', see Frâda (Bab.).
Paraga, mountain in Persia.
Pers. : $\overline{\text { YY }}$ YY $\langle$, Paraga, Col. III., 44.
Sus.: [-] -Y Y~> =Y, [(det.)]Parrakka, Col. III., 14.

Parmartish，see Phraortes（Bab．）．
Parrakka，see Paraga（Sus．）．
Parruparaesana，see Paruparaesanna（Sus．）．
Parsa，see Persia，Persian（Pers．）．
Parshin，Parshir，Parshirra，see Persia，Persian（Sus．）．
Parsu，see Persia（Bab．）．
Parthava，see Parthia，Parthian（Pers．）．
Parthia，province of the Persian Empire．

 5， 10.
 78 ；－ $\boldsymbol{Y}$ 客 $Y_{1}$ ，（det．）Partumaš，Col．II．，69，71， 75 ；Plur．





## Parthian．

 ह1 行［亦］，Parthavaib［［s］，Col．II．， 96.
Sus．and Bab．：see Parthia．
Partû，Partuma，Partumash，see Parthia（Bab．and Sus．）．
Parumartish，see Phraortes（Bab．）．
Paruparaesanna，name of province of the Persian Empire（see Gandara）．

 pa－rae－sa－an－na， 6.

Patigrabana，city in Parthia．


Pattikrappana，see Patigrabana（Sus．）．

Persia, country of.
 Ir ryy, Pârsam, Col. I., 46, 66; Col. III., 33, 34 ; Col. IV.,
 [9]; Col. III., 23, 24, 28, 34, 52, 53, 77 ; A, 2.
Sus.: $Y=Y\langle\langle\langle,(m)$ Paršin, Col. I., 10, 26, 31, 35, 51 ; Col. II., 2, 5, 12 , 60,73 ; Col. III., 2 (bis), [3], [4], 5, 7, 8 (bis), 9, 19, 35, [50], 58 ; A, $\mathbf{2}$; $->\langle\langle\langle,($ det. $)$ Paršin, Col. I., I.
 $s u$, ll. 1, 14, 16, [19], 26, 40, 41, [44], [62], [66], 71 (bis), 72 (ter), 73, [74 (ter)], 78 (bis), 84, [91], 94.
Persian.
 26, 31, 32, 56, 84 ; Col. IV., 16, 26, 83, 84 (bis), 85 (bis), 86 ; Col. V., [8]; Acc. $=$ Yy Yy Yy, Pârsam, Col. II., 81 ; Col. III., 2, 29 f.
Sus. : $Y=Y$ YYY, (m)Parsir, Col. II., 13, 38, 80 ; Col. III., 6, [40], 52 ; $Y=Y$ - $Y$ EYY, (m)Parširra, Col. I., 37 ; Col. III., 21 f., 57 , 90 (bis), 9 I (bis), 92 (bis).
Bab.: FYYY YY, (amêla)Par-sa-a-a, 11. 1, [20], [69], [73], 79, [92], [94], 110 (bis), III (ter), II2; À A FYFF YY YY, (mâtu)Par. sa-a-a, 44, 53, 86.

Phraortes, the Median pretender; Gr. $\Phi \rho a o ́ \rho \tau \eta \varsigma$.


 69, 93 .
 68 f. ; Col. III., 53 ; E, 1.

 11. 62,92 ; E, 1 .

Pirrata, see Frada (Sus.).
Pirrumartish, see Phraortes (Sus.).
Pirtiya, see Smerdis (Sus.).
Pisheumata, Pishi’khumadu, see Paishiyâuvâdâ (Sus. and Bab.).
Purattu, see Euphrates (Bab.).

## R

Ragâ, district in Media.
 Ragâyâ, Col. III., 2 f.
Sus.: - Y上~Y =1 =-Y, (det.)Rakkan, Col. II., 54, 73.

Raga', see Ragá (Bab.).
Rakhâ, city in Persia.
Pers. : $\langle\langle\bar{Y} Y$ YYY, Rakhî, Col. III., 34.
Sus.: - $\mid=-1 \Rightarrow-1$, (det.)Rakkan, Col. III., 8.
Rakkan, see Ragâ (Sus.), Rakhâ (Sus.).

## S

Sagartâ, see Sargartia, Sagartian (Bab.).
Sagartia, province of the Persian Empire.
 Asagartam, Col. IV., 23 ; Loc. YYY Y taiy, Col. II., 80 f. ; Col. IV., 22 ; G, 7 f.
 $Y$ Y



## Sagartian.

Pers: 亩Y

 55; see also Sagartia.
 11. [6r], 93 (bis).

Saikurrizish, see Thâigarcish (Sus.).
Saka, see Scythia, Scythian (Pers.).
Sapardu, see Sparda (Bab.).
Sattagû, see Sattagydia (Bab.).

Sattagy dia, province of the Persian Empire.
Pers. : KरY =1y <
Sus.: Y Y前 垤


Sattakush, see Sattagydia (Sus.).
Scythia, province of the Persian Empire.
 YE YYY -Yy, Sakîm, Col. V., 2 If. (bis).
Sus.: see Scythian (plur.).
Bab. : see Cimmerians.

## Scythian.

 Col. V., 25.
 Col. I., 14 ; Col. II., 3 f.

Soa, (the Islands) of the, i.e., the islands of the Persian Gulf, included within the Persian Empire.
 Col. I., 15.


Shakka, see Scythian (Sus.).
Shattarrita, Shattarritta, see Khshathrita (Sus.).
Shikkiumatish, see Sikayauvatish (Sus.).
Shinshakhrish, see Cicikhrish (Bab.).
Shishpish, see Teispes (Bab.).
Shitirantakhmu, Shitrantakhma, see Citrantakhma (Bab.).
Shuktash, see Sogdiana (Sus.).
Sikayauvatish, city in Media.




## Sikkamubatti＇，see Sikayauvatish（Bab．）．

## Simânu，see Sivan．

Sivan，the third month of the Babylonian Calendar．

Skunkha，the Scythian Pretender．


Sus．：Y＝ul Y｜
Smerdis，brother of Cambyses ；Gr．$\Sigma \mu \dot{\epsilon} \rho \delta \iota \iota$ ．
Pers．：हो हy हो 行 r＜，Bardiya，Col．I．，30，32，39， 52 f．；Col．III．， 25，35，54；Col．IV．，9，27，82；B， 4 f．；H．5；Acc．$y$ हो1 领 r＜＜－Y，Y，Bardiyam，Col．I．， 3 （bis）， 5 I．
 Col．III．， 2 f．， $9,20,49$ f．， 57 f．， 93 ；B，if．；H， 3.


Sogdiana，province of the Persian Empire．
Pers．：［险〈市《市市，［Sug］uda，Col．r．， 16.
 （ $m$ ）Suktas．pe，Col．I．，I 3 ．
Bab．：A 具
Sparda，province of the Persian Empire（cf．Introduction，p．xxxix）．

Sus．：YETY－Y E－MY，（m）Isparta；Plur．，＂inhabitants of，＂Y ETY－Y sill $\propto,(m)$ Isparta－pe，Col．I．，［11］．

Sugdu，Suguda，see Sogdiana（Bab．and Pers．）．
Sukhra＇，see Thukhra（Bab．）．
Susiana，province of the Persian Empire．
Pers．：〈Tir $=1 \mathrm{Y}\langle$, Uvaja，Col．I．， 14 ；Col．II．， 7 ；Col．V．， 4 ； Acc．$\left\langle\overline{Y T}=-Y\left\langle{ }^{2} \mathrm{Yy}\right.\right.$ ，Uvajam，Col．I．， 82 ；Col．II．， 12 ；Col．IV．， 12， 17 ；Col．V．，7，10；Loc．〈市 $-1 /=-\mathrm{K}$ 市 $\mathrm{r}\langle$－，Urajaiy，Col．I．， 74，75，77 ；Col．II．， 10 f．（bis）；Col．IV．，1r，17；C， 9 f．；F， 5.

## Susiana-continued.

Sus.: $Y \rightarrow-\hat{\sim} \rightarrow \hat{\sim}$, (m)Alpirti, Col. II., 7 ; see also Susian (plur.).
Bab. : see Elam.
Susian.







 Col. I, 10, 58 ; Col. II., 2, 5 f., 6 ; Col. III., 5 I; Col. IV., 3 ;
 Col. I., 58; $Y \rightarrow$ ثY $-Y=Y$ YYY, ( m )Alpirtip, Col. II, 7.

Bab.: see Elamite.

## T

Takhmaspâda, general of Darius.


Takmashpata, see Takhmaspada (Sus.).
Târava, city in Persia.

Sus.: [Y El|

Tariyamaush, see Darius (Sus.).
Tarma', see Tárava (Bab.).
Tatarshish, Taturshish, see Dadarshish (Sus.).
Tattuhiya, see Dâduhya (Sus.).
Tebet, the tenth month of the Babylonian Calendar.
Bab.: द<<

Teispes, father of Ariaramnes, and great-great-grandfather of Darius; Gr. Teliont


Sus.: Y EYY =uy =y EuY, (m)Zispis, Col. I., 4 (bis); A, 5 (bis).

Thaigarcish, month of the Old Persian Calendar, corresponding to the Babylonian month Sivan.



Bab.: see Sivan.
Thatagush, see Sattagydia (Pers.).
Thukhra, father of Otanes.
 Thukhrahyâ, Col. IV., 83.


Thuravahara, month of the Old Persian Calendar, corresponding to the Baby. lonian month Iyyar.

Pers。 $Y\rangle\langle\bar{Y}$
 Col. III., 39.
 III., [12].

Bab. : see Iyyar.
Tigra, fortress in Armenia.

Sus.: 一- $1 \%-y \mid=1 \%$, (det.) Tikra, Col. II., 29.
Tigrâ, see Tigris (Pers.).
Tigris, the River.
 Col. I., 85,88 ; Col. V., 22.


Tigris-continued.
 (nâru)Diglat, 1. 34.
Tikra, see Tigra (Sus.), Tigris (Sus.).
Tukkurra, see Thukhra (Sus.).
Tuppala, see Dubala (Sus.).
Turmar, see Thuravâhara (Sus.).
Turrauma, see Târava (Sus.).

## U

Ufrâtu, see Euphrates (Pers.).
Uiyama, see Uyamâ (Sus.).
Ukpatarranma, see Upadaranma (Sus.).
Umakh(?)ku, see Vahauka (Bab.).
Umakuishtar, see Cyaxares (Bab.).
Umidarna', see Hydarnes (Bab.).
Umimana', see Vivâna (Bab.).
Umissu, Umissi, see Vaumisa (Bab.).
Umittana', see Otanes (Bab.).
Umizdâtu, see Vahyazdâta (Bab.).
Ummannish, name assumed by Martiya, the Susian pretender.



Upadaranma, father of Atrina.



Upratu, see Euphrates (Sus.).
Uramashta, see Auramazda (Sus.).
Uramazda, Uramizda, see Auramazda (Bab.).
Urashṭu, see Armenia (Bab.).

Urimizda，Urimizda＇，see Auramazda（Bab．）．
Ushtaspi，see Hystaspes（Bab．）．
Utâna，see Otanes（Pers．）．
Utiâri，see Autiyâra（Bab．）．
Uvádaicaya，city in Persia．


Uvaja，Uvajiya，see Susiana，Susian（Pers．）．
Uvakhshatara，see Cyaxares（Pers．）．
Uvârazmiya，see Chorasmia（Pers．）．
Uyama，a stronghold in Armenia．



## V

Vahauka，father of Ardumanish．
 Vahau［kah］y［â］，Col．IV．， 86.
Sus．：Y Y
Bab．：प
Vahyazdâta，the second Pseudo－Smerdis．
Pers．：－Y

 $Y+1$ YY YYY＝YY 〈二人 r＜，Vahyazdâtahya，Col．III．， 38 f．， 46.
Sus．：$Y$ 〈动 15 f．， $17,18,20,24,30,57$ ；H， 1 ．


 11．［75］， 76 ．

## Varkàna, see Hyrcania (Pers.).

Vaumisa, general of Darius.


 44 f., 48.
 $m i-i s-s i, 11.53,[54], 55,[57]$.

Vâyaspâra, father of Intaphernes.


Sus.: Y 〈三

Vidarna, see Hydarnes (Pers.).
Vindafranâ, see Intaphernes (Pers.).
Vish[pa]uz[a]tish, city in Parthia.
 II., 95.

Vishtaspa, see Hystaspes (Pers.).
Vivâna, Persian governor of Arachosia.
 s( ${ }^{2}$ YYY, Vivânam, Col. III., 58, 60, 65, 7 r.

 [83].

Viyakhna, month of the Old Persian Calendar, corresponding to the Babylonian month Adar.
 Viyakhnahya, Col. I., 37 ; Col. II., 98 ; Col. III., 68.


Bab.: see Adar.

## Y

Yaunâ, see Ionia (Pers.).
Yautiyâ, district in Persia.


Bab.: A 起
Yautiyash, see Yautiya (Sus.).

## Z

Zaranga', see Drangiana (Bab.).
Zaranka, see Drangiana (Pers.).
Za’tu’a, see Dâduhya (Bab.).
Zâzâna, city on the Euphrates, near Babylon.



Zazannu, Zazzan, see Zâzânu (Bab. and Sus.).
Zinzakrish, see Cicikhrish (Cincikhrish) (Sus.).
Zirrankash, see Drangiana (Sus.).
Zishpish, see Teispes (Sus.).
Zishshantakma, see Citrantakhma (Sus).
Zûzu, see Zuzza (Bab.).
Zuzza, place in Armenia.
Pers. : [ . . . . $]_{\text {r }}$ R- [ . . . . . ]ya, Col. II., 33 .
Sus. : - EIY =Y (det.)Zuzza, Col. II., 25.

[ . . . ] mamita, a leader of the Susian rebels.



## CORRIGENDA.

P. 22, §xxir, for "raised a rebellion" read "dwelt." P. 3r, l. 53, for "I[zat] $]$ â" read "I[....]â," and n. x, for "Izzitu" read "Izzila." P. 32, §xxx, after "time" add "and advanced." P. 35, for "Adukani" read "Adukanisha." P. 5 r, 1.53 , for "Pârsiya" read "Pârsaiy." P. 57, for "and went" read "and they went." P. 65, for "§ Lxiv" read "§ liv." P. 76, 1. 84, for "Marduniyahya" read "Marduniyahy[â]," P. 77, 1. 86, for "Vahau[kah]ya " read "Vahau[kah]y[â]." I'. 82, del. n. 5. P. 89, G, 1. 7 f., del. "ami-y." P. 9I, for "Skunka" read "Skunkha." P. ili, \&xxi, for "raised a rebellion" read "dwelt." P. 139, for "Median" read "Persian," and 1. 40, for "Mata" read "Paršir."

## TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS ON THE ROCK OF BEHISTÛN.

## I.

## THE PERSIAN TEXT.

## Column I.












## Column 1.

§ I. I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenian.
§II. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: My father is Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes was Arsames ; the father of Arsames

CoL. I., 1. § I. adam Dârayavauš khšâyathiya vazraka khšâyathi[ya khšâya]thiy2. ânâm khšâyathiya Pârsaiy khšâyathiya dah[yunâm] $V(i)$ št- $\quad$ 3. âspahyâ putra Aršàmahyâ napâ Hakhâmaniš[iya § II. th]âtiy 4. Dârayavauš khšâyathiya manâ pitâ $V(i)$ šlâspa $V(i)$ štâspa [hyâ pit]â Arš-

[^14]Col. I.







 < YYY] -YYY YYY =|YY TYY < YYY -YYY



9. 可Y =YYY 前 Y (2
 $r<\left\langle\left[\frac{\pi}{T Y}\right]-\left\langle\left\langle\left\langle\overline{Y Y}{ }^{2} V_{E}{ }^{2} Y_{Y Y}\right.\right.\right.\right.$
was Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was [Teispes]; the father of Teispes was Achaemenes.
§ III. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: On that account are we called Achaemenians; from antiquity are we descended; from antiquity hath our race been kings.
§IV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Eight of my race were kings
5. ̂̂ma Aršàmahyâ pitî̂ Ariyâramna Ariyâramnahyâ pit[â Cišpiš] Cišp- 6. âiš̌ pitâ Hakhâmanis̆ § III. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâya[thiya ava]hyarâ- 7. diy vayam Hakhâmanišiyâ thahyâmahy hacâ paruv[iyata â] uatâ ama- 8. hy hacả paruviyata hyâ amâkhanı taumâ khiâya[thiyâ â]ha § IV. th- 9. âtiy Dàrayavauš khṡáyathiya viII manâ taumây[â tyaily [pa]ruvam

[^15]Col. I.




 - Y [ [ [



 < 亩 - YYY TYY < TY <




before (me); I am the ninth. In two lines have we been kings.
§V. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: By the grace of Auramazda am I king ; Auramazda hath granted me the kingdom.
§VI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: These are the provinces which are subject unto me, and by the grace of Auramazda became I king of them :--Persia, Susiana, Babylonia,
10. khšâyathiyâ âha adam navama ix duvitâparnam [vayam] khšâyathi- 11. yâ amahy §V. thâtiy l'ârayavauš khšâyathiya va[šnâ] Auramazd- 12. âha adam khšâyathiy aamiy Auramazdâ khšatram manâ [fr]âbara § VI. th- 13. âtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya imâ dahyâva tyâ manâ [pat]iyâišáa vašn- 14. â Auramazdâha [a]damšàm khšâyathiya âham Pârsa Ũvaja [B]âbiruš A-

[^16]Col. I.
















Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the (Islands) of the Sea, Sparda, ${ }^{2}$ Ionia, [Media], Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia and Maka; twenty-three lands in all.
§ VII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: These are the provinces which are subject unto me; by the grace of Auramazda they became subject unto me; they brought tribute unto me.
15. thurâ Arabâya Mudrâya tyaiy darayahyâ Sparda Yaun[â Mâda] Armina Kat-
16. patuka Parthava Zara(n)ka Haraiva Uvârazmiya Bâkhtriš [Sug]uda Ga(n)dâra Sa-
17. ka Thatagus̆ Ha[ra]uvatis̆ Maka fraharvam dahyâva xxiri §̧VII. thâtiy Dàra-
18. yavauš khšâyathiya imâ dahyâva ţâ manâ pati[yâis̆a] vašnâ Au- 19. ramazdâha ma[n]â ba(n)dakâ âha(n)tâ manâ bâjim abara(n)tâ [tya]şàm hacîma

[^17]Col．I．



可


 ＂Y（







Whatsoever commands have been laid on them by me，by night or by day，have been performed by them．
§VIII．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：Within these lands，whosoever was a［friend］，him have I surely protected ；whosoever was hostile，him have I utterly destroyed．By the grace of Auramazda these lands have conformed to my decrees； even as it was commanded unto them by me，so was it done．
§ IX．（Thus）saith Darius，the ling：Auramazda hath granted unto me this empire．Auramazcla brought me help，until I gained

20．athahya khšapavâ raucapatii â av．u akunavyatâ § VIII．thâtiy［IAâr］ayava－
21．us̆ khšîyathiya a（n）tar imâ dahŷâva martiya hya agar［．．．．］âha avam u－
22．Bartam abaram hya araika âha avam ufrastam aparsam vas̆n［â］Auramazdâ－ 23．ha imâ dalı̧̣̂a tyanâ manâ dâtâ apariyâya jathâsânı hacâma athah－24．ya

${ }^{1}$ The signs 〈亩 $\overline{\text { 人 }}$ are written here，and not at the end of the preceding line．
2Thus（and wot arrath，nor deush（i）），with room for two characters following．

Col. I.












29. TYY \ll


this empire ; by the grace of Auramazda do I hold this empire.
§ X. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what was clone by me after I became king. He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, one of our race, was king here before me. That Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis by name, of the
25. $m$ [aiy] ima khšatram frâluara Auramazdâmaiy upastâm abara yâtâ ima khšatram
26. ha[ma]dârayai[y] vašnâ Auramazdâha ima khšatram dârayâmiy § X. thâ-
27. tiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya ima tya manâ kartam pa-âva yathâ khš 28. âyathiya abavam $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiya nâma Kurauš putra amâkham taumây- 29. â hauvam idâ khšâyathiya âha avahyâ $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiyahyâ brâ

[^18]Colw I.










 < Y Y YY =



same mother and the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards Cambyses slew this Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis, it was not known unto the people that Smerdis was slain. Thereupon Cambyses went into Egypt. When Cambyses had departed into Egypt, the people became hostile, and the lie multiplied in the land, even in Persia, as in Media, and in the other provinces.
30. t[i Bardi]ya náma âha hamâtâ hamapitâ $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiyahyâ pasâva $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ 31. L[ujiya a]vam Bardiyam avâja yathâ Ka(m)bujiya Bardiyam avâja kàrahy32. [à naiy] azdâ abava tya Bardiya avajata pasâva $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiya Mudrâyam
33. [ašiya]va yathâ Ka(nı)bujiya Mudrâyam as̆íyava pas̆àva kâra araika abava 34. [pasâva] drauga dahyauvâ vasiy abava utâ Pârsaiy utâ Mâdaiy ut-

Col. I.















§ XI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : Afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, Gaumâta by name, who raised a rebellion in Paishiyâuvâdâ, in a mountain named Arakadrish. On the fourteenth day of the month Viyakhna ${ }^{1}$ did he rebel. He lied unto the people, saying: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses."
35. [â an]iyâuvâ dahyušuvâ § XI. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya pa- 36. [sâva] I martiya Maguš âha Gaumâta nâma hauv udapatatâ hacâ Paiši- 37. [yài]uvàdâyà Arakadriš nâma kaufa hacâ avadaša Viyakhnahya mâh- 38. [yâ] xıv raucabiš thakatâ âha yadiy udapatatâ hauv kârahyâ avathâ 39. [a]durujija adam Bardiya amiy hya Kurauš putra $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiyahyâ br-

[^19]Cor. I.







 < YYY <







Then were all the people in revolt, and from Cambyses they went over unto him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. He seized on the kingdom; on the ninth day of the month Garmapada he seized on the kingdom. Afterwards Cambyses died by his own hand.
§XII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The kingdom of which Gaumâta, the Magrian, dispossessed Cambyses, had
40. [â]tâ pasâva kâra haruva hamitriya abava hacâ $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiyâ abiy avam 41. [a]şiyava utâ Pârsa utâ Mâda utâ aniyâ dlahyâva khšatram hauv 42. agarbâyatâ Garmapadahya mâhyâ ix raucabiš thakatâ âha avathâ khša- 43. tram agarbâyatâ pasâva $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiya uvâmaršiyuš amariyatâ § XII. thâtiy 44. Dârayavaus̆ khšâyathiya aita khšatram tya Gaumâta hya Maguš adin-

Col. I.



46. $\langle 厶$ 人












belonged to our race from olden time. After that Gaumâta, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyses of Persia and of Media, and of the other provinces, he did according to his will, he was (as) king.
§XIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: There was no man, either Persian or Median or of our own race, who took the kingdom from Gaumâta, the Magian. The people feared
45. â Ka(m)bujiyam aita khšatram hacâ paruvijata amâkham taumâyâ â- 46. ha pasâva Gaumâta hya Maguš adinâ $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ bujiyam utâ Pârsam utâ 47. Mâdam utâ aniyâ dahyâva hauv âyastâ uvâipašiyım akutâ hau- 48. v khšâyathiya abava § XIII. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khšâyathiya naiy âha martiya 49. naiy Pârsa naiy Mâda naiy amâkham taumâyâ kas̆ciy hya avam Gau-

[^20]Col. I.







 く =yyr






him exceedingly, (for) he slew many who had known the former Smerdis. For this reason did he slay them, "That they may not know that I am not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." There was none who dared say aught against Gaumâta, the Magian, until I came. Then I prayed to Auramazda; Auramazda brought me help. On
50. mâtam tyam Magum khšatram ditam cakhriyâ kâras̆im hacâ dars̆ama a51. tarsa kâram vasiy avâjaniyâ hya paranam Bardiyam adânâ avahyar- 52. âdiy kâram avâjaniyâ mâtyamâmı khšnâsâtiy tya adam naiy Bard- 53. iya amiy hya Kurauš putra kašciy naiy adaršnauš cis̆ciy thastana- 54. iy paily Gaumâtam tyam Magum yâtâ adam arasam pasâva adam Aura-

Col. I.



 < FYY <









 <
the tenth day of the month Bâgayâdish I, with a few men, slew that Gaumâta, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. (At) the stronghold named Sikayauvatish, in the district named Nisâya in Media, I slew him ; I dispossessed him of the kingdom. By the grace of
55. maz[d]âm patiyâvahyaiy Auramazdàmaiy upastâm abara Bâgayâdaiš 56. mâhyâ x raucabis̆ thakatâ âha avathâ adam hadâ kamnaibiš martiyaibi- 57. š avam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam utâ tyaišaiy fratamâ mar- 58. tiyâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ Sika[ya]uvatiš nâmâ didà Nisâya nâ- 59. mâ dahyâus̆ Mâdaiy avadašim avâjanam khšatramšim adam adinam va-

[^21]Col. I.













 Y TV = 人

Auramazda I became king; Auramazda granted me the kingdom.
§ XIV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The kingdom that had been wrested from our line I brought back (and) I established it in its place as it was of old. The temples which Gaumâta, the Magian, had destroyed I restored for the people,
60. šnâ Auramazdâha adam khs̆âyathiya abavam Auramazdâ khšatram manâ fr-
61. âbara §XIV. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya khšatram tya hacâ amâkham
ta- 62. umâyâ parâbartam âhı ava adam patipadam akunavam adamšim gâth-
63. vâ avâstâyam yathâ paruvamciy avathâ adam akunavam âyadan- 64. â tyâ

Gaumâta hya Maguš viyaka adam niyatrârayam kârahyâ abi-

[^22]Col. 1.















and the pasture-lands, and the herds and the dwelling-places, and the houses, ${ }^{1}$ which Gaumâta, the Magian, had taken away. I settled the people in their place, (the people of) Persia, and Media, and the other provinces. I restored that which had been taken away, as it was in the days of old. This did I by the grace of Auramazda, I laboured until I had stablished our house in its place, as in the days of
65. cariš gaithâmcâ mâniyamcâ $v(i)$ thabišcâ tyâdiš Gaumâta $h[y a]$ 66. Maguš adinâ adam kâramı gâthvá avâstâyam Pârsam[c]à Mâdam[c]-67. â utá anịyá dahyâva yathâ paruvamciy avathâ adam tya parâba[rta]- 68. m patiyâbaram vašnâ Auramazdâha ima adanı akunavam adam hamatakh[šaiy] 69. yâtâ $\mathbf{v}$ (i)tham tyâm amâkham gâthvâ avâstâyam yathâ [par]uvam[ci]y

[^23]Col. I.







 TYY =1 -






old; I laboured, by the grace of Auramazda, so that Gaumâta, the Magian, did not dispossess our house.
§XV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what I did after I became king.
§ XVI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : After that I had slain Graumâta, the Magian, a certain man named Âtrina, the son of Upadaranma, raised a rebellion in Susiana, (and) he spake
70. avathâ adam hamatakhšaiy vašnâ Auramazdâha yathâ Gaumâta hya Magu-
71. š $v(i)$ tham tyâm amâkham naiy parâbara § XV. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyath-
72. iya ima tya adam akunavam pasâva yathâ khšâyathiya abavam § XVI. thâtiy
73. Dárayavauš khšàyathiya yathâ adam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam pa-
74. sâva I martiya Âtrina nâma Upadara(n)mahyâ putra hauv udapata[tâ Uvajai].

[^24]Col. I.













 Y TYY =
thus unto the people of Susiana: "I am king in Susiana." Thereupon the people of Susiana became rebellious, (and) they went over unto that Âtrina; he became king in Susiana. And a certain Babylonian named Nidintu-Bêl, the son of An[iri'], raised a rebellion in Babylon: he lied to the people (saying), "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus." Then did all the province of Babylonia go
75. y kârahyâ avathâ athaha adam Uvajaiy khšâyathiya amiy pa[sîva] Uva- 76. jiyâ hamitriyâ abava abiy avam $[\hat{A}]$ trinam ašiyava hauv kh[šâyathiya] 77. abava Uvajaiy utâ 1 martiya Bâliruviya Naditabira nâma Aina[ira]hy- 78. â putra hauv udapatatâ Bâbirauv kâram avathâ adurujiya adam Nab- 79. uk(u)dracara amiy hya Nabunai tahyâ putra pasâva kâra hya Bâbiruviya
${ }_{1}$ There is room for about two characters between the signs $=<$ and $\langle 2<$. The restoration is taken from the Babylonian Version, where the name is given as Aniri'.

Col. I.


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over unto that Nidintu-Bêl, (and) Babylonia rose in rebellion. He seized on the kingdom of Babylonia.
§ XVII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then sent I (an army) into Susiana; that Âtrina was brought unto me in fetters, (and) I killed him.
§ XVIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then did I march against Babylon, against that Nidintu-Bêl, who was called Nebuchadnezzar. The army of Nidintu-Bêl held the Tigris;


#### Abstract

80. haruva abiy avam Naditabiram ašiyava Bâbiruš hamitriya abava kh- 81. šatram tya Bâbirauv hauv agarbâyatâ § XVII. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâya- 82. thiya pasâva adam frâišayam Uvajam hauv $\hat{A} t r[i] n$ na basta anayatâ a [biy m]â- 83. m adamšim avâjanam § XVIII. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya pasâva adam Bâ 84. birum ašiyavam abiy avam Naditabiram hya Nabuk(u)dracara aga[ubat] ${ }_{\mathrm{a}}$


[^25]Col. I.












there they were posted, and they also had ships. Then I divided (?) the army . . . . ; some I made riders of camels (?), for the rest I led forward horses. Auramazda brought me help ; by the grace of Auramazda we crossed
85. kâra hya Naditabirahyâ Tigrâm adâraya avadâ âištatâ utâ
86. abiš nâviyâ âha pasâra adam kâram maskâuvâ avâkanam aniyam uša- 87. bârim akunavam aniyahyâ asam frânayam Aura[maz]dâmaiy upas[t]àm $\quad$ 88. abara vas̆nâ Auramazdâha Tigrâm viyatarayâma [a]vadâ avam kâram
${ }^{1}$ The reading $\overline{\text { K }}$ is certain. For 〈 $\bar{Y} \bar{Y}$ poss. read < $\overline{Y Y}$, which would give the reading mas̉kâ davâ.
${ }^{2}$ The reading of the signs \ll $\overline{\mathrm{YY}} \overline{\mathbb{K}}$ at the end of the line is certain; we must therefore read usabârim and not dašabarim. The Susian distinctly mentions 'camels' and 'horses' in this passage. The Sanskrit ustra means 'camel,' and the Old Persian root bar in the compound of asabiari, 'horse-rider,' means 'to ride'; but it is doubtful whether any comparison can be made, unless the engraver has omitted the sign $\frac{5}{\mathrm{Y}}$ by mistake from the end of 1.86 .
${ }^{3}$ Asam is from asa, 'a horse' (which occurs only in the word asabariri, 'rider').
${ }^{4}$ This reading is probable from the traces on the rock. Frinayan is a compound of fra, 'forward,' and the root $n i$, 'to lead.'

$$
\begin{aligned}
& { }^{5} \mathrm{Or}{ }^{2} \mathrm{Yy} \mathrm{\%} \text {. } \\
& \text { - The reading [a]vadâ avvam kâram is certain. }
\end{aligned}
$$

Cor: I.










the Tigris. Then did I utterly overthrow that host of Nidintu-Bêl. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Âtriyâdiya we joined battle.
§ XIX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then did I march against Babylon ; (but) before I reached Babylon, that Nidintu-Bêl, who was called Nebuchadnezzar, came with a host and offered battle at the city named Zâzâna, on the Euphrates.
89. tyam Naditabirahyâ adam ajanam vasiy $\operatorname{Atr[i]yâdiya[hya]~mâhyâ~xxvı~rau-~}$
90. cabiš thakatâ âha a[vath]â hamaranam akum[â] § XIX. tlâtiy Dârayavauš
kh- 91. šâyathiya pasâva a[d]am Bâbirum ašiyavam athiy Bâbiru[m yathâ naiy up]-
92. âyam Zâzâna nâma vardanam anuv Ufrâtuvâ avadâ [hauv Na]dita-

[^26]Col. I.



所 \lll
隹 <








Then we joined battle. Auramazda brought me help ; [by the grace] of Auramazda did I utterly overthrow the host of Nidintu-Bêl. The enemy fled into the water ; the water carried them away. On the second day of the month Anâmaka [we joined battle].
93. bira hya Nabuk(u)dracara agaubatâ âiša hadâ kârâ patiš [mâm hamarana]m
94. cartanaiy pašâva hama[rana]m akumâ Auramazdâmaiy upastâm ahara [vašná Aura]naz 95. zdâha kâram tyam Naditabirahyâ adam ajanam vasiy aniya âpi[y]â [aharat]â â- 96. pišim parâbara Anâmakahya mâhyâ II raucabiš thakatâ âha avathả hama[ranam ak]umâ

[^27]Column II.















Column II.
§ XX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then did Nidintu-Bêl flee with a few horsemen into Babylon. Thereupon I marched to Babylon. By the grace of Auramazda I took Babylon, and I captured that Nidintu-Bêl. Then I slew that NidintuBêl in Babylon.
§XXI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: While I was in Babylon,

[^28]${ }^{1}$ The beginning of the sign $=\gamma$ and the end of the sign $\frac{1}{\gamma}$ are visible upon the rock.

Col. II.






8. =yy \ll








these provinces revolted from me: Persia, Susiana, Media. Assyria, [Egypt], Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, and Scythia.
§XXII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: A [certain] man named Martiya, the son of Cicikhrish, raised a rebellion [in a city in Persia] named Kuganakâ; this man revolted in Susiana,
6. šâyathiya yâtâ adam Bâbirauv âha[m imâ dahyâva] tyâ hacâma ha- 7. mitriyâ abava Pârsa Uvaja Mâda Ath[urâ Mudrâya Par]thava Margus̆ Tha- 8. tagus̆ Saka § XXII. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ kh[šâyathiya I marti]ya Martiya nâ- 9. ma Cicikhráiš putra Kuganakâ nâ[ma vardanam Pârsaiy] avadâ adâraya 10. hauv udapatatâ Uvajaiy kârahyâ a[vathâ athaha adam] Imaniš amiy U-

[^29]Col．II．


阿亦次




 § Xxiv．く K






and［he said］unto the people ：＂［I am］Ummannish，king in Susiana．＂
§XXIII．（Thus）saith Darius，［the king］：At that time I was friendly with Susiana．Then were the Susians［afraid］of me，and that Martiya，who was their leader，they seized ［and］slew．
§ XXIV．（Thus）saith Darius，the king ：A certain［Median named］ Phraortes revolted in Media，and he said unto the people：

11．vajaiy khšâyathiya §XXIII．thâtiy Dârayavau［š khšâyathiya］adakaiy adam ašna－12．iy âham abiy Uvajam pasâva hacâ［ma atarsa Uva］jiyâ avam Marti．13．yam agarlâya hyašâm mathišta âha［utâšin av］âjana §XXIV．thâtiy D．14．ârayavauš khs̆âyathiya I martiya Fra［vartiš nâma Mâda］hauv udapatat－15．â Mâdaiy kârahyâ avathâ athaha［adam Khs̆athrita am］iy Uvakhs̆atarah－

[^30]Col. II.





 § XXV. <










"[I am Khshathrita], of the family of Cyaxares." Then did the Medians who [were in the palace] revolt from me and go over unto that Phraortes ; he became [king] in Media.
§ XXV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The Persian and Median army, which was with me, was small. Then sent I forth the army. A Persian named Hydarnes, my servant, I made their leader, and I said unto him: "Go, smite that
16. yâ taumâyâ pasâva kâra Mâda hya [v(i)thâpatiy âha] hacâma hamitriya a- 17. bava abiy avam Fravartim ašiyava hauv [khšàyathiya] abava Mâdaiy §XXV. 18. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khšâyathiya kâra Pârsa u[tâ M]âda hya upâ mâm â- 19. ha hauv kamnam âha pasâva adam kâram frâiša[yam Vi]darna nâma Pârsa man- 20. â ba(n)daka avamšâm mathištam akunavam avathâs̃[âm atha]ham paraitâ avam k-

Col. 11.

人 人










Median host which doth not acknowledge me." Then this Hydarnes marched forth with the army. When he was come into Media, at a city in Media named Marush, he gave battle to the Medes. He who was leader of the Medes withstood not (the assault). Auramazda brought me help ;
21. âram tyam Mâdam jatâ hya manâ naiy gaubataiy pasâva hauv Vidarna ha-
22. dâ kârâ ašiyava yathâ Mâdam parârasa $M[a ̂ r u]_{\text {š nâma vardanam Mâ- }}$ 23. daiy avadâ hamaranam akunauš hadâ Mâda[ibi]s̆ hya Mâdaišuvâ 24. mathišta âha hauv adakaily naiy [a]vadâ[. . . .] Auramazdâmaiy u-
 sign is clearly to be read as $\overline{\mathrm{Y}}$. The name is restored from the Susian version.
${ }^{3}$ The division-wedge is written at the beginning of 1.24 .
${ }^{3}$ The traces that are visible between the words naiy and Auramazdimaiy
 one sign before so that the reading [a]vad $\hat{a}$ is practically certain. In the second break there is scarcely room for more than two signs; the restoration of any form of the verb dar is therefore out of the question, though the meaning of the word must be similar. The traces of the last sign in the word seem to be those of $2 \ll$ or $\langle=1$.

Col. II.









28. FYY < WY <


by the grace of Auramazda my army utterly defeated that rebel host. On the twenty-seventh day of the month Anâmaka the battle was fought by them. Then did my army await me in a district in Media named Kampada, until I came into Media.
25. pastâm abara vašna Auramazdâha kâra [hya ma]nâ avam kàram t- 26. yam hamitriyanı aja vasiy Anâmakalıya màh[y]â xxvıı raucabiš thakat- 27. â âha avathâšâm hamaranam kartam pasâva hauv [kâ]ra hya manâ $\mathrm{Ka}(\mathrm{m})$ pada nâm- 28. â dahyâuš Mìdaiy avadâ mâm amâniya yâtâ adam arasam Mìda-
${ }^{1}$ Of the sign $=$ the final wedge is clearly visible, and between the words kâra and azam there is not room for more than five or six signs. The restoration of manâ in place of Vidarnahyâ is therefore certain.
${ }^{8}$ The numeral 27 is quite clear upon the rock.
${ }^{3}$ There is nothing wanting between the words mam and amániya. All the signs in the line are clear upon the rock.

Col. II.















§XXVI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: An Armenian named Dâdarshish, my servant, I sent into Armenia, and I said unto him: "Go, smite that host which is in revolt, and doth not acknowledge me." Then Dâdarshish went forth. When he was come into Armenia, the rebels assembled and advanced against Dâdarshish to give him battle. At a place in Armenia named [Zuzza] they fought the battle.
29. m §XXVI. thâtiy Dârayavauš khs̆âyathiya Dâdaršis̆ nâma Arminiya man30. â ba(n)daka avam adam frâis̆ayam Arminam avathâ[šaiy] athaham paraidiy kâ31. ra hya hamitriya manâ naiy gaubatiy avam [jad]iy pasâva Dâdarši- 32. š ašiyava yathâ Arminam parârasa pasâva [hamitr]iyâ hagamatâ parai- 33. tâ patǐ̌ Dâdaršim hamaranam cartanaiy [. . . . .]y nâma âvahanam A-

[^31]Cor．II．




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Auramazda brought me help ；by the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host．On the eighth day of the month Thuravâhara the battle was fought by them．
§ XXVII．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：The rebels assembled for the second time，and they advanced against Dâdarshish to

34．rm（i）niyaiy avadâ hamaranam akunava Au［rama］zdâmaiy upastâm a－35．bara vašnâ Auramaztâha kâra hya manâ ava［m k］âram tyam hamitriyam 36．aja vasiy Thuravâharahya mâh［yâ］vi［ 11 raucabi $]$ š thakatâ âha avath－37．âsâm
 38．itiyam hamitriyâ hagamatâ parait［à pa］tiš［IAada］rsim hamaranam carta－

[^32]Col. II.















give him battle. At a stronghold in Armenia named Tigra they joined battle. Auramazda brought me help; by the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the eighteenth day of the month Thuravâhara the battle was fought by them.
§XXVIII. Thus saith Darius, the king: The rebels assembled for
39. naiy Tigra nâmâ didâ Arm(i)ni[yaiy] avadâ hamaranam akunava A- 40. uramazdâmaiy upastâm abara vašnâ Aura[mazdâ]ha kâra hya manâ a- 41. vam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja vas[iy Thuravâ]harahya mâhyâ xvini 42. raucabis̆ thakatâ âha avathâŝâm hamaranam ka[rtam] § XXVIII. thâtiy Dâraya- 43. vauš khšâyathiya patiy tritiyam ha $[\mathrm{m}]$ itr iyâ $]$ hagamatâ paraitâ pat-

[^33]COL. II.















the third time and advanced against Dâdarshish to give him battle. At a stronghold in Armenia named U[yam]â they joined battle. Auramazda brought me help ; by the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the ninth day of the month Thâigarcish the battle was fought by them. Then Dâdarshish waited for me in Armenia, until I came into Media.
44. iš Dâdaršim hamaranam cartanaiy U[yam]â nâ[m]â didâ Arm(i)niyaiy a-
45. vadâ hamaranam akunava Auramazdâmaiy upastâ $[\mathrm{m}]$ abara vašna Aurama-
46. zdâha kâra hya manâ avam kâram tyam ham[i]tri[yam] [a]ja vasiy 'Thâigarca47. iš mâhyâ ix raucabiš thakatâ âha ava[thâš]âm hamaranam kartam pasâva. 48. I)âdaršiš citâ mâm amânaya $\operatorname{Ar[m(i)]ni[ya]iy~[y]âtâ~adam~arasam~Mâ-~}$
${ }^{1}$ The first and last signs only of the name are preserved on the rock, the last sign YyY being quite clear. There is room for two signs in the gap in the middle of the word, which has been conjecturally restored from the Susian version.
${ }^{2}$ The division-wedge is written at the beginning of 1.48 .
${ }^{3}$ The reading $A r[m(i)] n i[y a] i y$, "in Armenia," is quite certain.

Col. II.















§XXIX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: A Persian named Vaumisa, my servant, I sent into Armenia, and I said unto him : "Go, smite the host which is in revolt and doth not acknowledge me." Then Vaumisa went forth. When he was come into Armenia, the rebels assembled and advanced against Vaumisa to give him battle. At a place in Assyria named [ [zat]â they joined battle. Auramazda brought me help;
49. dam § XXIX. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya [pasâva] Vaumisa nâma Pârsa manâ ba(n) 50. daka avam adam frâišayam Arminam avathâšaiy athaham paraidiy kâra 51. hya hamitriya manâ naiy gaubataiy avam jadiy pasâva Vaumisa a52. šlyava yathâ Arminam parârasa pasâva hami[triy]â hagamatâ paraitâ pa53. tiš Vaumisam hamaranam cartanaiy $I[$ zat $] \hat{a}$ nâmâ dahyâuš Athurây-

[^34]Col. II.















by the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. On the fifteenth day of the month Anâmaka the battle was fought by them.
§ XXX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The rebels assembled a second time against Vaumisa to grive him battle. At a
54. â avadâ hamaranam akunava Auramazdâ[ma]iy upastâm abara vas̆nâ Au55. ramazdâha kâra hya manâ avam kâranı t[yam] hamitriyam aja vasiy 56. Anâmakahya mâhyâ xv raucabiš thakatà âha avathâšâm hamaranam 57 . kartam § XXX. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšayathiya patiy duvitiyam ham 58. itriyâ hagamatâ paraitâ patiš Vaumisam hamaranam cartanaiy Au-

[^35]Col. II.




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place in Armenia named Autiyâra they joined battle. Auramazda brought me help ; by the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow that rebel host. At the end of the month Thuravâhara the battle was fought by them. Then Vaumisa waited for me in Armenia, until I came into Media.
59. tiyâra nâmâ dahyâuš Arminiyaiy avadâ hamaranam akunava 60. Auramazdâmaiy upastâm abara vašnâ Auramazdâha kâra hya ma- 61. nâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja vasiy Thuravâharahya mâh 62. yâ jiyamanam patiy avathâŝâm hamaranam kartam pasâva Vaumisa 63. citâ mâm amânaya Arminiya[iy] yâtâ adam arasam Mâdam

[^36]Col．II．




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67．\lll＜





§ XXXI．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：Then I went forth from Babylon and came into Media．When I was come into Media that Phraortes，who called himself king in Media， came against me unto a city in Media named Kundurush to offer battle．Then we joined battle．Auramazda brought me help ；by the grace of Auramazda did I utterly overthrow the

64．§ XXXI．thâtiy Dârayavauš khšîyathiya pasâva adam nijâyam hacì 65．Bâbirauš ašiyavam Mâdam yathả Mâdam parâracam $\mathrm{Ku}(\mathrm{n}) \mathrm{d}(\mathrm{u})$ ruš nâma 66．vardanam Mâdaiy avadà hauv Fravartis̆ hya Mâdaiy khšâyathiya a－67．gaubatà âiša had［â］kârâ patiš mâm hamaranam cartanaiy pasâva hamarana－68．m akumâ Auramazdâmaiy upastâm abara vas̆na Auramazdâha kâra：n

Col. II.












host of Phraortes. On the twenty-fifth day of the month Adukani we fought the battle.
§ XXXII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : Thereupon that Phraortes fled thence with a few horsemen to a district in Media named Raga. Then did I send the army against them.
69. tyam Fravartaiš adam ajanam vasiy Aduka[ni]šahya mâhyâ xxv ra- 70. ucabiš thakatâ âha avathâ hamaranam akumâ § XXXII. thâtiy IDârayavauš kh- 71. seâyathiya pasâva hauv Fravartiš hadâ kamnaibiš asalâribiś amutha Ra- 72. gâ nâmâ dahyâuš Mâdaiy avaparâ ašiyava pasâva adam kâram f-

[^37]

Phraortes was taken and brought unto me. I cut off his nose, and his ears, and his tongue, and I put out his eyes, and he was kept in fetters in my court, and all the people
73. râišayam nipadiy Fravartiš agarbi[ta] anayatâ abiy mâm ada- 74. mšai[y] utâ nâham utâ gaušâ utâ harbanam frâjanam utâs̆a- 75. iy [ucša]m avajam duvarayâmaiy basta adâriy haruvašim k -

[^38]Col. II.















beheld him. Then did I crucify him in Ecbatana, and the men who were his chief followers I imprisoned in the stronghold in Ecbatana.
§ XXXIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: A man named Citrantakhma, a Sagartian, revolted from me, and thus he spake unto the people: "I am king in Sagartia, of the family of
76. âra avaina pasâvašim Hagmatânaiy uzmayâpatiy akunavam 77. utâ ma[r]tiyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiyâ âha(n)tâ avaiy Ha- 78. gmatâ[naiy] [a(n)ta]r didâm frâha(n)jam §XXXIII. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khš- 79. âyathiya I mar[t]iya Citra(n)takhma nâma Asagartiya hauvmaiy hamitriya 80. alıava kârahyâ avathâ athaha adam khšâyathiya amiy Asagarta-

[^39]Col．II．
81．谓 $\mathrm{Y}\langle$ 人 \ll





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Cyaxares．＂Then sent I forth a Persian and a Median army．A Median named Takhmaspâda，my servant，I made their leader，and I said unto him：＂Go，smite the host which is in revolt and doth not acknowledge me．＂ Thereupon Takhmaspâda went forth with the army，and

81．iy Uvakhšatara［hyầ］taumâyâ pasâva adam kâram Pârsam ut－82．â Mâdam frâišayam Takhmaspâda nâma Mâda manâ loa（n）daka avam－83．šam mathištam akunavam［a］vathâŝâm athaham paraitâ k－84．âram hamitriyam hya manâ naiy gaubâtaiy avam jatâ pas－85．âva Takhmaspâda hadâ kârâ［a］šiyava hamaranam akunauš had－

[^40]Col. II.















he fought a battle with Citrantakhma. Auramazda brought me help; by the grace of Auramazda my army utterly defeated that rebel host, and they seized Citrantakhma and brought him unto me. Then I cut off his nose and his ears, and I put out his eyes. He was kept in fetters in my court, and all the people beheld him. Afterwards did I crucify him in Arbela.

[^41][^42]Col． 11.





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§ XXXIV．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：This is what was done by me in Media．
§ XXXV．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：The Parthians and the Hyrcanians revolted from me，and they declared themselves on the side of Phraortes．My father Hy． staspes was［in Parthia］；and the people forsook him， they became rebellious．Then Hystaspes［marched forth with the troops which］had remained faithful．At a

91．uzmayâpati［y］akunavam § XXXIV．thâtiy Dârayava［u］š khs̆âyaihiya ima tya ma－92．nâ kartam Mâ［da］iy § XXXV．thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khšâyath $[$ i］ya Parthava utâ Var－93．kâna［ham］i［tr］iyâ［aba］va［hacâ］na l＇ravar［taiš aga］u［ba（n）tâ V（i）stâspa manâ pitâ ha－94．uv［Parthavaiy］âha a［va］m kâra avaha［r ．．hann］itri［ya］abava pasâva V（i）štâspâ

[^43]Cor. II.



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 $r=z_{z}^{2}=y_{y y}-y_{y y}$
city [in Parthia] named Vish[pa]uz[â]tish he fought a battle with the Parthians. Auramazda [brought me help]; by the grace of Auramazda Hystaspes [utterly defeated] the rebel host. [On the twenty-second day] of the month Viyakhna the battle was fought by them.
95. [ašiyava hadà kâr]à h[yasaiy'] anuśi[yà] âha Viš[pa]uz[â]tiš nàma varda96. [nam Parthavaiy] avadà hamaranam [a]kunau[̌s] hadâ Parthavaı[š] A[uramazd] amaiy 97. [upastâm abara] vašna [A]urama[zdâha V(i)š]lâ[spa] avam kâra[m tyam ha]m[i]triya- $98 . \mathrm{m}$ [aja vasiy V]iyakhnahya $m[\hat{a}]$ hyâ [xxıı raucabiš] thakatâ âha avathâsầm hamaranam kartam

[^44]
## Column III.















## Column III.

§ XXXVI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then did I send a Persian army unto Hystaspes from Ragâ. When that army reached Hystaspes, he marched forth with the host. At a city in Parthia named Patigrabana he gave battle to the rebels.

Col. III., 1. §XXXVI. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya pasâva adam kâra- 2. m Pârsam frâišayam abiy $V$ (i)štâspam hacâ Ragâ- 3. ya yathâ hauv kâra parârasa abiy
 vardanam Parthavaiy avadâ hamaranam akunaus̆ hadâ

[^45]Col. III.













Auramazda brought me help; by the grace of Auramazda Hystaspes utterly overthrew that rebel host. On the first day of the month Garmapada was the battle fought by them.
§ XXXVII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.
6. hamitriyaibis̆ Auramazdâmaiy upastâm abara vašnâ Auramaz 7. dâha $V(i)$ štâspa avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja vasiy Ga- 8. rmapadahya mâhyâ i rauca thakatâ âha avathâsâm hamaranam ka- 9. rtam § XXXVII. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya pasâva dahyâuš ma

[^46]Col. III.













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§XXXVIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The province named Margiana revolted against me. A certain Margian named Frâda they made their leader. Then sent I against him a Persian named Dâdarshish, my servant, who was governor of Bactria, and I said unto him: "Go, smite that host
10. nâ abava ima tya manâ kartam Parthavaiy § XXXVIII. thâtiy Dârayavau11. š khšâyathiya Marguš nâmâ dahyâus̆ hauvmaiy hamitriyâ abava 12. I martiya Frâda nâma Mârgava avam mathištam akunavatâ pasâ- 13. va adam frâišayam Dâdaršiš nâma Pârsa manâ ba(n)daka Bâkhtriy- 14. â khšatrapâvâ abiy avam avathâšaiy athaham paraidiy ava-

[^47]Col. III.















which doth not acknowledge me." Then Dâdarshish went forth with the army, and gave battle to the Margians. Auramazda brought me help; by the grace of Auramazda my army utterly overthrew that rebel host. On the twenty-third day of the month Atriyâdiya was the battle fought by them.
15. m kâram jadiy hya manâ naiy gaubataiy pasâva Dâdaršis̆ hadâ k- 16. ârâ ašiyava hamaranam akunauš hadâ Mârgvaibiš Auramazd- 17. âmaiy upastam abara vašnâ Auramazdâha kâra hya manâ avam kâram 18. tyam hamitriyam aja vasiy Atriyâdiyahya mâhyâ xxili raucabi- 19. š thakatâ âha avathâŝàm hamaranam kartam § XXXIX. thâtiy Dârayavau-
${ }^{1}$ The sign is $\boldsymbol{r}$, not r . Thus the form Mârgaya, for an inhabitant of Margiana, does not exist in Old Persian. The plur. instr. Mârgazaibis/h is derived from the regular form Mârgaza, which occurs in Col. III., 1. 12, and Col. IV., l. 24.

[^48]Col. III.







23. $\left\langle\begin{array}{rl}\text { 人 }\end{array}\right.$







§XXXIX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.
§ XL. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: A certain man named Vahyazdâta dwelt in a city named Târavâ in a district in Persia named Yautiyâ. This man rebelled for the second time in Persia, and thus he spake unto the people: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." Then the Persian people who were in
20. š khšâyathiya pasâva dahyâuš manâ abava ima tya ma- 21. nâ kartam Bâkhtrị̂â § XL. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khšâya- 22. thiya I martiya Vahyazdâta nâma Târavâ nâma vardanam 23. Yautiyâ nâmâ dahyâuš Pârsaiy avadâ adàraỵa ha- 24. uv duvitiyam udapatatâ Pârsaiy kârahyâ avathâ 25. athaha adam Bardiya amiy hya Kurauš putra pasâva 26. kâra Pârsa hya $v(i)$ thâpatiy hacâ yadâyâ fratarta ha-

[^49]Col. III.















the palace fell away from allegiance. They revolted from me and went over to that Vahyazdâta. He became king in Persia.
§ XLI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : 'Then did I send out the Persian and the Median army which was with me. A Persian named Artavardiya, my servant, I made their leader. The rest of the Persian army came unto me in Media. Then
27. uv hacâma hamitriya abava abiy avam Vahyazdâta- 28. $m$ ašiyava hauv khšâyathiya abava Pârsaiy § XIJ. thâ- 29. tiy Dârayavauš̌ khšâyathiya pasâva adanı kâram Pârsa- 30. ma utâ Mâdam fráišayam hya upâ mâm âha Artavard- 31. iya nâma P'àrsa manâ La(n)daka avamšăm mathištam aku- 32. navam hya aniya kâra Pârsa pasâ manâ ašíyava Mâ- 33. dam pasâva Artavardiya hadâ kârâ ašiyava Pârsam

Col. III.







37. 牙 $-Y$ 人








went Artavardiya with the army unto Persia. When he came to Persia, at a city in Persia named Rakhâ that Vahyazdâta, who called himself Smerdis, advanced with the army against Artavardiya to give him battle. They then fought the battle. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda my host utterly overthrew the army of Vahyazdâta. On the twelfth day of the month Thuravâhara was the battle fought by them.
34. yathâ Pârsam parârasa Rakhâ nâma vardanam Pârsaiy a- 35. vadâ hauv Vahyazdâta hya Bardiya agaubatâ âiša 36. hadâ kârâ patiš Artavardiyam hamaranam cartanaiy pas- 37. âva hamaranam akunava Auramazdâmaiy upastâm abara va38. šnâ Auramazdâha kâra hya manâ avam kâram tyam Vahya- 39. zdâtahya aja vasiy Thuravâharahya mâhyâ xıI raucabiš thaka-

[^50]Col．III．
40．＝yYY TYY＜ 1 TYY



41． Y 人


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43．ㄹYY TYY＜
 $\bar{m}=y=y y_{1}=1$

44．文 $K<$ 人 \ll 二 TYY 〈TY＝Y－YyY Yory TY YYY－YYY



§ XLII．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：Then that Vahyazdâta fled thence with a few horsemen unto Paishiyâuvâda．From that place he went forth with an army a second time against Artavardiya to give him battle．At a mountain named Paraga they fought the battle．Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda my host utterly

40．tâ âha avathâsầm hamaranam kartam § XLII．thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathi－
41．ya pasâva hauv Vahyazdâta hadâ kamnaibiš asabâribiš a－42．mutha ašiyava Paišiyâuvâdâm hacâ avadaša kâram âyas－43．tâ hyâparam âisa patiš Artavardiyam hamaranam cartana－44．iy Paraga nâma kaufa avadâ hamaranam akunava Auramazdâma－45．iy upastâm abara vašnâ Auramazdâha kâra hya manâ ava－

[^51]Col. III.




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 $r \ll=y=10 y-r y$

 \ll<IV <



overthrew the army of Vahyazdâta. On the fifth day of the month Garmapada was the battle fought by them. And they seized that Vahyazdâta, and the men who were his chief followers they also seized.
§ XLIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then did I crucify that
46. m kâram tyam Vahyazdâtahya aja vasiy Garmapadahya mâh- 47. yâ v raucabiš thakatâ âha avathâsàm hamaranam kartam utâ ava- 48. m Vahyazतâtam agarbâya utâ martiyâ tyaišaiy fratam- 49. â anušiyâa âha(n)ta agarlâya $\S$ XLIII. thâtiy Dârayavauš khs̆- 50, âyathiya paăâva adam avam Vahyazdâtam utâ martiyà

[^52]Coí. III.
 < शY <

 §XLIV. < Y $<1$ YYY
53. =YYY 俭 $R$ 人

 § XLV. <







Vahyazdâta and the men who were his chief followers in a city in Persia named Uvadaicaya.
§ XLIV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what was done by me in Persia.
§ XLV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : That Vahyazdâta, who called himself Smerdis, sent men unto Arachosia against a Persian
51. tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiŷâ âha(n)ta Uvâdaicaya nâma var- 52. dznam Pârsaiy avadašiš uzmayâpatiy akunavam § XLIV. thâ- 53. tiy I)ârayavauš khšâyathiya ima tya manâ kartam Pârsija 54. § XI,V. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya hauv Vahyazdâta hya Bardiya 55. agaubatâ hauv kâram frâišaya Harauvatim Vivâna

[^53]Coz．III．






58．$K$ 人
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named Vivâna，my servant，the governor in Arachosia． He appointed a certain man to be their leader，and thus he spake unto him，saying：＂Go，smite Vivâna and the host which acknowledgeth king Darius！＂Then that army which Vahyazdâta had sent marched against Vivâna to give him battle．At a fortress named Kâpishakânish they fought the battle．Auramazda brought me help．By the

56．náma Pârsa manâ ba（n）daka Harauvatiyâ khs̆atrapâvâ abiy ava－57．m utâsâm I martiyam mathištam akunauš avathâŝàm a－58．thaha paraitâ Vivânam jatâ utâ avam kâram hya l）âraya－59．vahauš khs̆âyathiyahyâ gaubataiy pasâva hauv kâra ašiya－60．va tyam Vahyazdâta frâišaya abiy Vivânam hamaranam cartanaiy K－ 61．âpišakâniš nâmâ didâ avadâ hamaranam akunava Auramazdâmai－

Col. III.
62. H 人 \ll











66. 前 K


grace of Auramazda my army utterly overthrew that rebel host. On the thirteenth day of the month Anâmaka was the battle fought by them.
§ XLVI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The rebels assembled a second time and went out against Vivâna to give him battle. At a place named Gandutava they fought a battle.

[^54][^55]Col. III.






69. FYY < 2 人


 TYY - Y 亻





Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda my army utterly overthrew that rebel host. On the seventh day of the month Viyakhna the battle was fought by them.
§ XLVII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: The man who was commander of that army which Vahyazdâta had sent forth against Vivâna fled thence with a few horsemen. To a
67. iy upastâm abara vašnâ Auramazdâha kâra hya manâ avam kâram t- 68. yam hamitriyam aja vasiy Viya $[\mathrm{kh}]$ nahya mâhyâ viı raucabiš thakatâ 69. âha avathâŝ̀m hamarananı kartam § XLVII, thâtiy 1)ârayavaus̆ khšàyathiya 70. pasâva hauv mart[iya] hya avahyâ kârahyâ math[išta â]ha tyam Va- 71. hyazdâta frâišaya abiy Vivânam hauv am[utha ha]dâ kamnaib-

[^56]Col. III.















fortress in Arachosia named Arshâdâ he went. Then Vivâna with the army marched after them on foot. There he seized him, and he slew the men who were his chief followers.
§ XLVIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Arachosia.
72. iš asabâribiš ašiyava Aršâdâ nâmâ didâ $[\mathrm{Ha}]$ rauvatiyâ a- 73. vaparâ atiyâiša pasâva Vivâna hadâ kârâ nipadi[ヶ] t[ya]iy ašiya- 74. va avadâšim agarbâsa u[t]â marliyâ tyaišaiy fratamâ anušiyâ 75. âha(n)tâ avâja § XLVIII. thâtiy Darayavaus̆ khšâyathiya pasâva daḩâuš ma- 76. nâ abava ima tya manâ kartam Harauvatijâ § XLIX. thâtiy Darayavaư̌ khşâ-

[^57]Col. III.







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§ XLIX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: While I was in Persia and in Media, the Babylonians revolted from me a second time. A certain man named Arakha, an Armenian, the son of Haldita, rebelled in Babylon. At a place named Dubâla he lied unto the people (saying): "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus." Then did the Babylonian people
77. yathiya yâtâ adam Pârsai $[\mathrm{y}]$ u[l]â Mâdaiy âham patiy duvitiyan 78. Bâbiruviyâ hamitriyâ abava hacâma 1 martiya Arakha nâma $[$ Arm]ini. 79. ya Halditahya putra hauv udapátatâ Bâbirauv Dubâla nâmâ [da]hyâ- 80. uš hacâ avadaša hauv [k]ârahyâ avathâ adurujiya adam Nabukud- 81. racara amiy hya Nabunaitahya putra pasava kâra Bâbiruviya hacâma ha-

[^58]Col．III．

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84．$r^{2}$ 人





revolt from me and went over to that Arakha．He seized Babylon，he became king in Babylon．
§ L．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：Then did I send an army unto Babylon．A Persian named Vindafranâ，my servant，I appointed as their leader，and thus I spake unto them

82．mitriya abava abiy avam Arakham ašiyava Babirum hauv agarbâyat－83．â hauv khšâyathiya abava Bâbirauv § L．thâtiy Dâ［rayava］u［s khš］âyathi－84．ya pasâva adam kâram fraišayam Babirum Vi（n）dafra［nâ］nâma Pâ［rsa］manâ＇85．ba（n）－ daka avamšám mathištam akunavam avathâŝâm athaham para［itâ ava］m kâram

[^59]Col．III．





87．市《



 く思く童
（saying）：＂Go，smite that Babylonian host which doth not acknowledge me！＂Then Vindafranâ marched with the army unto Babylon．Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda Vindafranâ overthrew the Babylonians and［brought over（？）the people unto me］．On the twenty－

86．Bâbiruvi［ya］m jatâ hya manâ naiy［ga］ubâtaiy pasâva $[V] i(n) d a[f r a n] a ̂ ̀ ~ h a d a ̂ ~ k a ̂ r-~$
87．â ašiyava abiy Bâbirum Auramazdâmaiy upast［âm］a［bara］vas̆nâ Auramaz－
88．dâha $\operatorname{Vi}(n)$ da［fra］nâ Bâbiruvi［y］â aja utâ［．．．．．．．．．］mâhyâ xxır ra－

[^60]Col. III.










second day of the month [Markazanash] that Arakha who called himself Nebuchadnezzar, and the men who [were his chief followers, they seized and fettered. Then I made a decree (saying): "Let that Arakha] and the men who were his chief followers be crucified in Babylon!"
 ut]a martiyâ tyâ i[ . . . . . . . . . . ] 91. [ . . . . . . . . . . hauv Arakha u]tâ [mart]iyâ t[yaišaiy f]rata[m]â a[n] $\quad 92$. [u]şi[y]â aha(n)tâ Bâbira[u]v [uzmay]âpatiy asariyata

[^61]
## Column IV.

1. § LI. < K










## Column IV.

§ LI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what was done by me in Babylon.
§ LII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what I have done; by the grace of Auramazda have I always acted. After I became king, I fought nineteen battles, (and) by the grace

Col IV., 1. § LI. thâtiy Dâraya[vauš] khšâyathiya ima t- 2. ya manâ kartanı [Bâbirau]v § LII, thâtiy D. 3. ârayavaus̆ khş[âyathi]ya ima tya adam akuna-
4. vam vašnâ Aura[mazdâha] âha hamahyâyâ thar- 5. da pasâva yathâ kh[šâyathiyâ] abavam xix hamaran-

[^62]Col. IV.













of Auramazda I overthrew nine kings, and I made (them) captive. One was named Gaumâta, the Magian ; he lied, saying, "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." He made Persia to revolt. Another was named Atrina, the Susian ; he lied, saying, "I am the king of Susiana." He made
6. â akunavam vašn[â Aura]mazdâha adamšim a- 7. janam utâ Ix khš[âyathiy]â agarbâyam I Gaumâta 8. nâma Magus̆ âha [hauv ad]urujiya avathâ athaha adam 9. Bardiya amiy [hya Ku]rauš putra hauv Pârsam ha- 10. mitriyam akunau[š I Atri]na nâma Uvajiya hauv adu- 11. rujiya avathâ a[thaha adam] khšâyathiya amiy Uvajaiy

[^63]Col IV．

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14．TYY TY 7 YY＜

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Susiana to revolt．Another was named Nidintu－Bêl，the Babylonian；he lied，saying，＂I am Nebuchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus．＂He made Babylon to revolt．Another was named Martiya，the Persian ；he lied，saying，＂I am Ummannish，the king of Susiana．＂He made Susiana to

12．hauv Uvajam ha［mitriya］m akunauš［ma］nâ $\left.\begin{array}{ll}\mathrm{I} & \mathrm{Na}\end{array}\right]$ ditabira n － 13. âma Bâbiruviya hauv adurujiya avathâ athaha 14．adam Nabukudra［cara amiy］hya Nabunitahya putra 15．hauv Bâbirum［hami］tuiyam akunauš i Martiya nâ 16．ma Pârsa hauv［ad］u［ruj］iya avathâ athaha adam Imani－17．samiy Uvajai［y khšàja］thiya hauv Uvajam hamitriya－

[^64]Col. IV.







 <TVY


22. 鬲 K 人




revolt. Another was named Phraortes, the Mede; he lied, saying, "I am Khshathrita, of the race of Cyaxares." He made Media to revolt. A nother was named Citrantakhma, of Sagrartia; he lied, saying, "I am king of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares." He made Sagartia to revolt. Another was named Frâda, of Margiana; he lied, saying, "I am
18. m akunaus̆ I Fravar[ti]s nâtna Mâda hauv adurujiya 19. avathâ athaha a[da]m [Kh]ş[athr]ita amiy Uvakhšatarahya taumâs- 20. â hauv Mâdam [hamitriyam] akunauš I Citra(n)takhma nâma Asa- 21. gartiya hauv [adu]rujiya avathâ athaha adam khšâyath- 22. iya amiy Asaga[rtaiy] Uvakhšatarahya taurnâyâ hauv 23. Asagartam hamitri[yam] akunauš i Frâda nâma

[^65]Col．IV．
 ＜TYY－Y





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king of Margiana．＂He made Margiana to revolt．Another was named Vahyazdata，a Persian ；he lied，saying，＂I am Smerdis，the son of Cyrus．＂He made Persia to revolt． Another was named Arakha，an Armenian ；he lied，saying， ＂I am Neduchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus．＂He made Babylon to revolt．

24．Mârgava hauv a［d］u［r］ujiya avathâ athaha adam 25．khšâyathiya a［miy Mar］sauv hauv Margum hamitri－26．yam akunaus̆［I Vahya］zdâta nâma Pârsa hauv a－ 27．durujiya ava［thâ athaha］adam Bardiya amiy hya Ku－28．rauš putra ha［uv Pâr］sam hamitriyam akunaus̆ i Ara－29．kha nâma Armin［iya hauv］adurujiya avathâ athaha adam Nab－30．ukudracara amiy［hya Nabu］nitahya putra hauv Bâbirum ham－

[^66]Col．IV．




32．Ww \ll 《






 く包细《市一《



§ LIII．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：These nine kings did I capture in these wars．
§ LXIV．（Thus）saith Darius，the king ：As to these provinces which revolted，lies made them revolt，so that they deceived the people．Then Auramazda delivered them into my hand； ［I did］unto them according to my will．

31．itriyam akunauš § LIII．thâ［t］iy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya imaiy 32．ix khšâyathiyâ［ada］rn agarbâyam a（n）tar imâ hamaranâ 33．§ LIV．thâtiy Dâraya［vauš khšà｜yathiya dahyâva imâ tyâ hamitriy－34．â abava drauga di［š hamitriy］â akunauš tya imaiy kâram adur－35．ujiyaša pasâva di［̌̌ Auramaz］dâ manâ dastayâ akunauš yathâ mâm k－

Col. IV.









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§LV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Thou who mayest be king hereafter, beware of lies; the man who is a liar, destroy him utterly if thou thinkest "(thereby) shall my land remain whole."
§ LVI. (Thus) saith Darius, the kıng: This is what I have done,
36. âma avathâ di[s̆ akunavam] § LV. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khs̆âyathi- 37. ya tuvam kâ kh[šâyathiya h]ya aparam ahy hacâ draugâ daršam 38. patipayauvâ mart[iya hya draut]jana ahatiy avam ufraštam parsâ ya- 39. diy avathâ man[iyâhy] dahyâušmaiy duruvâ ahati- 40 . y § LVI. thâtiy Dâ[raya]va[uš] khšâyathiya ima tya adam akunavam

[^67]Col. IV.








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by the grace of Auramazda have I always acted. Whosoever shall read this inscription hereafter, let that which I have done be believed ; thou shalt not hold it to be lies.
§ LVII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: I call Auramazda to witness that it is true (and) not lies; all of it have I done.
41. vašná Auramazdâha [ha]ma[h]yâyâ tharda akunavam tuvam kâ hya 42. aparam imám dipi $[\mathrm{m}]$ patiparsâhy tya manâk artam varnavatâm 43. thuvâm mâtya [duruj]iyâhy § LVII. thâtiy Dârayavauš khs̆â- 44. yathiya Auramazd[â . . . . . ]rtaiyiya yathâ ima hašiyam naiy duru-

[^68]Col．IV．

 §LVIII．く 人




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§ LVIII．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：By the grace of Auramazda there is also much else that hath been done by me which is not graven in this inscription ；on this account it hath not been inscribed lest he who shall read this inscription here－ after should then hold that which hath been done by me to be too much and should not believe it，（but）should take it to be lies．

45．khtam adam akuna［vam hama］hyâyà tharda §̧．LVIII．thâtiy Dàrayavaus̆ khšâya－46．thiya vašnâ Aura［mazdâha ap］imaiy aniyašciy vasiy astiy karta－47．m ava ahyâyâ $d[i] p[$ iy $]$ â naiy nipištam avahyarâdiy naiy $n$－48．ipištam mât apa］ram imâm dipım patiparsâtiy avah－49．yâ paruv tha［dutiy tya］manâ kartam naiš［ ．．］im varnavâtaiy d－

[^69]Cor.. IV.















§ LIX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: It was not done by the former kings during their time, as it hath always been done by me through the favour of Auramazda.
§ LX. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : Now may that appear true unto thee which hath been done by me ; so . . . conceal thou
50. urukhtam maniyâ[tiy] § LIX. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khšâyathiya tyaiy 51. paruvâ khšâyath[iyâ y]âtâ âha avaišâm avâ naiy astiy kar- 52. tam yathâ manâ va[šnâ] duramazdâha hamahyâyâ tharda kartam § LX. thâ- 53. tiy Dârayavauš kh[šâ]yathiya nuram thuvâm varnavatâm lya man- 54. â kartam avathâ sa[ . . .]d [ . . . ]âdiy mâ apagaudaya yadiy imâm

[^70]Col．IV．




56．可＜






58．仁 H 《





not．If thou shalt not conceal this edict（but）shalt publish it to the world，then may Auramazda be thy friend，may thy house be numerous，and mayest thou thyself be long－ lived．
§LXI．（Thus）saith Darius，［the king］：If thou shalt conceal this edict and shalt not publish it to the world，may Auramazda slay thee（and）may thy house cease．

LXII．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：This is what I have done；

55．ha（n）dugâm naiy［a］pa［gau］da［yâh］y kârahyâ thâhy Auramazdâ thuvàm 56．dauštâ biyâ utâ $[$ ta］iy taumâ vasiy biyâ utà dra（n）gam jivà 57 ．§ LXI．thâtiy Dàrayavauš［khšâya］thiya yadiy imâm ha（n）dugâm apagaudayâ－58．hy naiy thâhy ［k］âr［ahyâ］Auramazdâtay jatâ biyâ utâtaiy taum－59．â mâ biyâ § LXII．thâtiy Darayavauš khšâyathiya ima tya adam akunavam

Col. IV.

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by the grace of Auramazda have I always acted. Auramazda brought me help, and the other gods, (all) that there are.
§ LXIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: On this account Auramazda brought me help, and the other gods, (all) that there are, because I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I a
60. hamahyâyâ tharda [vašn]â Auramazlâha akunavan Auramazdâmaiy upas-
61. tâm ahara utâ an[iyâha ba]gâha tyaiy ha(n)tiy § I.XIII. thâtiy Dârayavau-
62. š khšâyathiya avah[ya]râ[diy] Auramazdâ upastâm abara utâ ani- 63. yâha bagâha tyai $[\mathrm{y}$ ha(n)tiy yath $] \hat{\text { à naiy arai[ka] âham naiy draujana âham na- 64. iy }}$ zurakara âham [naiy a]da[m na]imaiy taumâ upariy ârštâm upariy-

[^71]Col. IV.

〈欮-ryy =yy









tyrant, neither I nor any of my line. I have ruled according to righteousness, according to . . . . . Whosoever helped my house, him I favoured ; he who was hostile (?), him I destroyed.
§ LXIV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : Thou, who mayest be king
65. [...]naiy sakauri[m . . ]t[u]nuvatam zura akunavam martiya hamata-
66. khšatâ manâ $v(i)$ thi $[y \hat{a}$ a $]$ vam ubartam $a[b a] r a m$ hya viyanâ[sa]ya ava ufrasta-
67. m aparsam § LXIV. thâtiy Dârayavaus̆ khšàyathiya tuvam [kâ] khšâyathiya
68. hya aparam ahy martiya [hya] draujana ahatiy hyavà [zu]rakara[ . .] ahat-

[^72]Col. IV.







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hereafter, whosoever shall be a liar or a rebel (?), or shall not be friendly, him do thou destroy!
§ LXV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Thou who shalt hereafter see this tablet, which I have written, or these sculptures, destroy them not, (but) preserve them so long as thou livest!
§ LXVI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: If thou shalt behold this
69. iy avaiy mâ dauštâ [. . . ]â ufraštâdiy parsâ § LXV. thâtiy Iâra- 70. yavauš khšáyahiya [tu]vam kâ hya aparam imâm dipim vainâhy ty- 71. ânı adam niyapi[ša]m [i]maivâ patikarâ mâtya visanâhy yâvâ da(?)- 72. tas(?) ahy avathâštâ par[iba]râ § LXVI, thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya ya-

[^73]Col. IV.












tablet or these sculptures, and shalt not destroy them, but shalt preserve them as long as thy line endureth, then may Auramazda be thy friend, (and) may thy house be numerous. Live long, and may Auramazda make [fortunate] whatsoever thou doest.
§ LXVII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: If thou shalt behold this
73. [diy] imâm di[pim] vainâ[hy] imaivâ patikarâ naiydiš visanâhy utâ- 74. taiy yâvâ taumâ [ahatiy] ןaribarâhadiš Auramazdâ thuvâm dauštâ biy' 75. â utâtaiy tau[mâ] vasiy lı[y]a utâ dra(n)gam jivâ utâ tya kunavâhy 76. avataiy Auramazdâ. [ . . . . ]m kunutuv § LXVII. thâtiy Dàrayavauš khšã-

[^74]Col. IV.





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tablet or these sculptures, and shalt destroy them and shalt not preserve them so long as thy line endureth, then may Auramazda slay thee, and may thy race come to nought, and whatsoever thou doest may Auramazda destroy!
§ LXVIII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: These are the men who were there when I slew Gaumâta, the Magian, who was
77. yathiya yadiy im $[\hat{a}] \mathrm{m}$ dipim imaivâ patikarâ vainâhy visanâhadiš ut- 78. âtaiy yâvâ tau[m]â ahati[y nai]ydiš paribarâhy Auramaztâtaiy jatâ b- 79. iyâ utâtaiy taum[â mâ biyâ] utâ tya kunavâhy avataiy Auramazd- 80. â nika(n)tuv § LXVIII thâtiy Ihâ[r]ayavauš khšâyathiya imaiy martiyâ tyaiy 81. adakaiy avadâ [â]ha(n)tâ yâthâ adam Gaumâtam tyam Magum avâjanam

[^75]Col．IV．





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寄开至险［［
called Smerdis ；then these men helped me as my followers． Intaphernes，the son of Vayaspâra，a Persian；Otanes，the son of Thukhra，a Persian ；Gobryas，the son of Mardonius， a Persian；Hydarnes，the son of Bagâbigna，a Persian ； Megabyzus，the son of Dâduhya，a Persian ；Ardumanish， the son of Vahauka，a Persian．

82．hya Bardiya aga［uba］tâ adakai［y］imaiy martiyâ hamatakhšatâ anušiyâ man－
83．â Vi（n）dafranâ nâ［ma］Vâ［ya］sp［âra］hyâ putra Pâr［sa U］tâ［na n］âma Thukhrah［y］â
84．［putra］Pârsa［Gaubar］uva nâma Marduniyahya［putra］［ P ］ârsa［Vi］daına nâma


[^76]Col．IV．
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§ LXIX．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：Thou who mayest be king hereafter，preserve these men［ ．．．．．］．
§ LXX．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：By the grace of Auramazda this inscription［．．．．］which I have made［．．．．．］

86．Ar［duma］n［ǐ̌ nâma］Vahau［kahya p］utra Pârsa § LXIX thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyath－87．iya tuvam［kâ］khšâya［th］iya hya aparam ahy tyâm imišâm martiya u－ 88．［．．．．］imâm［．．．］a［．．］par［ibar］â §LXX thâtiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya vašnâ［A］u－89．［ramaz］dâ［ha］i［yam］dipi［ ．．．．ty］âm akunavam［．．］cišam a［ ．．．$] \mathrm{a}[$ ．．．$] \mathrm{t}[$ ．．］avast－

[^77]Col. IV.









Column V.


have I written. This inscription [.....] and [.....] me hereafter [ . . . . . ] the inscription [ . . . . ] in the provinces [ . . . . . ] us altogether.

## Column V.

§ LXXI. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: This is what I did [ . . . ] and [. . . ] manner, [after I became] king. The province
90. $[\hat{a}]$ ya $[\mathrm{m}]$ [ . . . ]âkhar[ . . . . niyap]išam iya dipi [..]nam athahavaja [...]iš[.. y]âdâ 91. [....]m utâ [....]i[..]i[...]â[..]taiy [....]ya [..]i[. .]iyâ mâ[m] pasâva ima d- 92. ipi[ . . . ]ima [. . ]avatâ . . . . . ] a(n)tar dahyâ[va . . ]ara hama amakhamatâ
CoL. V., 1. § LXXI thât[iy D]ârayava[uš kh]şâyathiya

[^78]Col. V.














named Susiana revolted from me. A Susian named [ . . . ]mamita they made their leader. Then I sent an army unto Susiana. A Persian named Gobryas, my servant, made I their leader. Then Gobryas set forth with the
2. ima t[ya ada]m aku[navam . . . . ]tiya a[ . . ] 3. mca [.....] thardam [. . pasâva ya]thâ khšâya- 4. thiya [abavam U]vaja [nâma da]hyâuš hau- 5. v h[acima hamitriya] abava [1 martiya . . . ]mamita nâma U- 6. vaji[ya avam math $]$ išrta $[\mathrm{m}$ akunava $(n)]$ tâ pasàva ada- 7. m kâ[ram frâiša]yam U[vajam martiya] Gaubaruva 8. nâma [Pârsa man]â ba(n)daka [avamšam] mathištam aku-

[^79]Cor. V.

















army; he delivered battle against the Susians. Then Gobryas destroyed [many of the host], and . . . . , and that [ . . . ]mamita, (their) leader, he captured, (and) he brought (him) unto me, and I slew him. Then the province [became mine].
§ LXXII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: Then were the Susians
9. navam palsâva hauv Gau]baruva [hadâ kâr]â ašiyava 10. Uvajam [hamaranan a]kuna[uš hadâ] Uvajaiyibiš pas- 11. âva G[aubar]uva [ . . . . av]âja utâ daiy marda 12. utâ [avanı . . mamitam] math[ištam] agarbâya anaya abi- 13. y mâ $[\mathrm{m}$ utâši]m ad[am avâ] $]$ anan pasâva dahŷâ- 14. uš [manâ abava] § IXXII. thât[iy Dâ]rayavauš khšâyathi- 15. ya a[dakaiy Uvaj]iyâ [atarsa] utâ[š]âm Aurama16. zđâ [manâ dastayâ] a[kunauš] ayadaiy vašna A-

Col. V.
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 YYT 〈






[afraid], and Auramazda delivered them into my hand . . . By the grace of Auramazda I did unto them [according to my will].
§ LXXII. (Thus) saith Darius, the king: He who [respecteth] Auramazda will be ........ so long [as his line en]dureth, and [his] life [will be long].
§ LXXIV. [(Thus) saith] Darius, the king: [With the army (?)] I went to Scythia; against Scythia [1 marched . . . . ] the Tigris . . . . [ . . . ] unto the sea [.....] I crossed
17. urama[zdâha yathâ] mâ[m kâma ava]thâdiš akunavam 18. § LXXIII. th[âtiy Dâraya]vauš [khšâyath]iya hya Auramazdâ- 19. -m ya[ . . . . ] yâ[va taumâ a]hatiy utâ jivah- 20. yâ[dra(n)ga . . . . ]yâa . . . § LXXIV. thâti]y Dârayavauš khš21. âya[thiya hadâ kâr]â $\mathrm{Sa}[$ kâm adam aś]iyavam abiy Sak- 22. âm[....]i [ . . . . . ]m Tigram barata- 23. ya [ . . . ]iya abiy daraya a-

[^80]Col. V.









〈TY

 over . . . . [ . . many of ] the Scythians I slew, the rest I took prisoners: ... [was brought] unto me in fetters and [I slew] him [...] named [....]kha I took prison[er . . . . ] I then appointed another as their leader [....] was named. Then the province became mine.
§ LXXV. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : [ . . . .] not Auramazda
24. vâ[ . . . ]a h[ . . . ] ] pisâ viyatara- 25. yam[ . . . . ] Sak[iyâ av]âjanam aniyam aga- 26. rb[âyam . . . . ba]sta [anayatâ a]biy mâm ut- 27. aş́[im avâjanam [....]šn[....]kha nâma avam aga- 28. rb[ayam . . . .] ya[....] avadâ aniyam math- 29. is̆[tam ak]unavam ya[ . . . n]âma aha pasâva da- 30. h[yauš ma]nâ [aba]va § LXXV. [thâti]y Dârayavauš khšâya-

[^81]Col. V.
 TYY 〈TY =Y -YYY Y $\rightarrow Y$ YY



 K



36. < $=$ Y[. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .]
[....]... By the grace of Auramazda I did unto them [according to] my [will].
§ LXXVI. (Thus) saith [Darius], the [king]: Auramazda . . [....] his life and [...].
31. thi[ya . . . . ]s[. . ] $]$ [ . . . . ] mâ naiy Auramazd- 32. a[ . . . . $] i[$. . . ] ur[ . . . ] yadiy vašnâ Aurama- 33. z[dâha yathâ m]âm [kâma avathâdi]š akunavam § LXXVI. thât- 34. i[y Dârayavauš khs̃ââyathiya] Auramazdâm yadâta35. i[y . . . ] ]m[.... ]tat jivahyà utâ 36. [ . . . ]

1 There is room for about five characters in the gap.
${ }^{2}$ The traces of the preceding sign appear to be those of ${ }^{7} \mathrm{y} Y \mathrm{Y}$.
${ }^{3}$ There is room for seven or eight characters in the gap.

- The beginning of the sign is preserved.


## EPIGRAPHS．

A．Inscription over the figure of Darius．

《イ川 $\pi$ 开队





开开要



A．§ I．I am Darius，the great king，the king of kingș，king of Persia，king of the provinces，the son of Hystaspes，the grandson of Arsames，the Achaemenian．
§ II．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：My father is Hystaspes ；the
A．1．§ I．adam Dârayavauš khšâyathiya vazraka khšâya－
2．thiya khšâyathiyânầm khšâyathiya Pârsaiy khš－3．âyathiya dahyunâm V（i）štâspahyâ putra 4．Aršâmahyâ napâ Hakhâmanišiya § II．thâtiy Dâra－5．yavauš khšâyathiya manâ pitâ V（i）štâspa V（i）－






9. K







 § IV. र介 TVI
father of Hystaspes was Arsames ; the father of Arsames was Ariyaramnes; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes ; the father of Teispes was Achaemenes.
§ III. (Thus) saith Darius, the king : On that account are we called Achaemenians; from antiquity are we descended; from antiquity hath our race been kings.
6. ştâspahyâ pitâ Aršâma Aršâmahyâ pi- 7. tâ Ariyâramna Ariyâramnahyâ pitâ 8. Cišpiš Cišpaiš pitâ Hakhâmaniš̌ 9. § III. thâtiy Darayavauš khšâyathiya avahya- 10. râdiy vayam Hakhâmanišiyâ thahyâ- 11. mahy hacâ paruviyata â[m]âtâ 12. amahy hacâ paruviyata hya amâ- 13. kham taumâ khšâyathiyâ âha §IV. thâ-
 WWY＜ Mry $_{\mathrm{Y}}$
寄 - くく市情

 \ll＜ Y IT


B．Inscription under the prostrate figure of Gaumâta， the Magian，the Persian Pretender．







§ IV．（Thus）saith Darius，the king ：Eight of my race were kings before（me）；I am the ninth．In two lines have we been kings．
B．This Gaumâta，the Magian，lied，saying：＂I am Smerdis，the son of Cyrus ；I am king．＂

14．tiy Dârayavauš khšâyathiya viII ma－15．nâ taumâyâ tyaiy paruva－16．m khšâyathiyâ âha adam na－17．vama $1 x$ duvitâparnam vayam kh－18．šâyathiyâ amahy
B．1．iyam Gaumâ－
2．ta hya Maguš a－
3．durujiya
4．avathâ athaha adam Ba－
5．rdiya amiy hya K－
6．urauš putra adam khs̆－
7．âyathiya amiy

C．Inscription over the figure of Âtrina，the Susian Pretender．





6．$\overline{Y Y}-Y Y Y \ll\langle Y$

8．签 Y 人＜WY Y
9．市 $r \lll<\bar{Y}$


D．Inscription over the figure of Nidintu－Bêl，the Babylonian Pretender．




5． r 人＜く 人




C．This Âtrina lied，saying：＂I am king of Susiana．＂
D．This Nidintu－Bêl lied，saying：＂I am Nebuchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus；I am king of Babylon．＂
C．1．iyam Âtr－
2．ina adu－
3．rujiya
4．avathâ
5．athaha a－
6．dam kh－
7．sayath－
8．iya am－
9．iy U－10．vajaiy．
D．1．iyam Naditabira
2．adurujiya ava－
3．thâ athaha adam Nab－4．ukudracara ami－5．y hya Nabunaita－6．hya putra adam kh－7．šâyathiya amiy B－ 8. âbirauv
E. Inscription on the robe of Piraortes, the Median Pretender.










F. Inscription above the figure of Martiya, the Susian Pretender.






E. This Phraortes lied, saying: "I am Khshathrita, of the race of Cyaxares; I am king of Media."
F. This Martiya lied, saying: "I am Ummannish, king of Susiana."
E. 1. iyam Fra-
2. vartiš
3. aduru-
4. jiya ava-
5. thâ athaha adam
6. Khšathrita amiy
7. Uvakhšatarahya
8. taumâyâ adam
9. khšâyathiya amiy
10. Mâ-
11. daiy
F. 1. iyam Martiya a-
2. durujiya a-
3. vathâ athaha a-
4. dam Imaniš am-
5. iy Uvajaiy kh-
6. sâyathi-
7. ya
G. InsCription above the figure of Citrantakhma, the Sagartian Pretender.






7. K 人



H. Inscription above the figure of Vahyazdata, the Persian Pretender.









G. This Citrantakhma lied, saying: "I am king of Sagartia, of the race of Cyaxares."
H. This Vahyazdâta lied, saying: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; I am king."
G. 1. iyam Citra(n)
2. takhma ad-
3. urujiya
4. avathâ a-
5. thaha adam
6. khşâyathi-
7. ya ami-
8. y Asaga-
9. rtaiy Uva-
10. khšatarahya
11. taumây-
12. à
H. 1. iyam Vahya-
2. zdâta adu-
3. rujiya ava- 4. thâ athaha ada-
5. m Bardiya
a- 6. miy hya K-
7. urauš putra
8. adam khšà-
9. yathiya amiy

[^82]I. Inscription above the figure of Arakha, the Babylonian Pretender.











J. Inscription above the figure of Frâda, the Margian Pretender.






I. This Arakha lied, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus ; I am king of Babylon."
J. This Frâda lied, saying: "I am king of Margiana."
I. 1. iyam Arakha
2. aduruj
3. iya avathâ
4. athaha adam
5. Nabuku[d]ra-
6. cara amiy
7. hya Nabuna-
8. itahya pu-
9. tra adam khšâ-
10. yathiya amiy
11. Bâb(i)rauv
J. 1. iyam Frâda
2. aduru-
3. jiya avathâ athaha
4. adam khšâyath-
5. iya amiy Marga- 6. uv

[^83]K. Inscription above the figure of Skunka, the Scythian.
K. This is Skunka, the Scythian.
K. 1. iyam Sku(n)- 2. ka hya Saka

## II.

## THE SUSIAN VERSION.

Column 1.



2. E-H
 1 ITIF




## Column I.

§ I. I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenian.
§ II. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: My father is Hystaspes, and the father of Hystaspes was Arsames, and the father

Col. I., 1. § I. (m)u (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk irs̆arra (m) zunkuk (m) zunkuk-ip-inna ( $m$ ) zunkuk (det.) Paršin-ikka ( $m$ ) zunkuk ( $m$ ) taiu[š]]pe-na ( $m$ ) Miš- 2. tašpa šakri (m) Iršama (m) ruhhušakri (m) Akamannišiya § II. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk 3. nanri (m) u (m) attata ( m ) Mištašpa aiak (m) Misstašpa (m) atteri (m) Iršamma ai[ak] (m) Iršamma (m) at-

[^84]Col．I．
 $Y$ 宣全－MYイ










of Arsames was Ariyaramnes，and the father of Ariya－ ramnes was Teispes，and the father of Teispes was Achaemenes．
§ III．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：On that account do we call our race the Achaemenian；from antiquity are we descended ；and from antiquity hath our race been kings．
§ IV．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：Eight kings of my race have held the kingdom before（me）；as the ninth do I rule the kingdom．In two lines have we been kings．

4．teri（m）Arriyaramna aiak（m）Arriyaramna（m）atteri（m）Zišpiš aiak（m）Zi［špi］š $[(\mathrm{m})]$ atteri（in）A－$\quad 5$. kkamanniš § III．aiak（m）Tariyamauš（m）zunkuk nanri huh－ pentukkime（ m ）niku（ m ）GUL（id）（ m ） $\mathrm{Ak}[$ kamanni］ssiya tiri－6．maniun s̆aššata ka［ra］－ talari（ m ）ša ．．ut aiak šaššata karatalari（ m ）GUL（id）（m）nikami［（m）zunkuk－ip］ §IV．aiak（m）7．Tariyama［u］š（m）zunkuk nanri viul（m）zunkuk－ip（m）GUL（id）（m）u－ nena appuka（ m ）zunkuk－me marriš（ m ）u ix－um［mema（ m ）zunkuk－me］hutta s̆a－

[^85]Col. I.

 Y

 Y

 [ 1 -
§ V. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: By the grace of Auramazda do I rule the kingdom ; Auramazda hath granted me the empire.
§ VI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: These provinces, which are called mine, by the grace of Auramazda do I rule: Persia, and Susiana, and Babylonia, and Assyria, and Arabia, and Egypt, and (the Islands of) the Sea, and [Sparda], and Ionia, and Media, and Armenia, and
8. mak-mar (m) niku (m)zunkuk-ip ut § V. aiak (m) Tariyamaus (m) zunkuk nanri zaumin $[(a n) U] r a[m a s ̌ t a-n a(m)]$ zunkuk-me $(m) u$ hut- 9 . ta (an) Uramašta ( m ) zunkuk-me ( m ) u tuniš §VI. aiak ( m ) Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanri ( m ) t[ai]ya[uš hi appa] (m)u-nena ti- 10. rišti zaumin (an) Uramašta-na (m)u (m) zunkuk-me appine hutta ( m ) Yaršin aiak ( m ) Apirtup [aiak ( m ) Papili]p aiak (m) Aš- 11. šurap ai $[\mathrm{ak}$ (m) Ar]payap aiak (m) Muzzariyap aiak (m) AN-KAM (id)-ip aiak [(m) Išparta-pe aiłak (m) Iyau-

Col．I．
12．－二 Y 俭Y 并 三－Y Y
 サre－ 1










Cappadocia，and Parthia，and Drangiana，and Aria，and Chorasmia，and Bactria，and Sogdiana，and Parruparaesana， and Scythia，and Sattagydia，and Arachosia，and Maka： ［twenty－three］lands in all．
§ VII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：These provinces，which are called mine，became so by the grace of Auramazda；

12．nap aiak（m）Mata－pe aiak（m）Arminiyap aiak（m）Katpatukas̆－pe aiak（m）Partumap ［aiak（m）Zirra］nkaš－pe aiak 13．（m）Ariyap［ai］ak（m）Marašmiyap aiak（m）Pakšiš aiak（m）Šuktas̆－pe aiak［（m）Parruparae］sana aiak 14．（m）S̆akka－pe aiak［（m）］Sattakuš aiak（m）Arraumatiš aiak（m）Makka man－ir tarmuk［xxııI（m）taiyau］§̌ § VII．aiak 15．（m）Tariya［mau］š［（m）］zunkuk nanri（m）taiyauš hi appa（m）u－nena tirišti zaumin［（an）Uramašta－na］taš lipa－me（m）u－

Col. I.









they have rendered me service, they have brought me [tribute]. Whatsoever I have said unto them, whether by day or by night, that have they performed.
§ VIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Within these lands, whosoever was a friend have I protected ; whosoever [was hostile] have I utterly destroyed. By the grace of Auramazda this land was [protected by my decree]. Even as it was commanded unto them by me, so have they done.
16. nena huttaš [ . . . ]š (m)u-nena kutiš appa (m)u[ . ] ap tiriya (an) šit-ma-na (an)[nan-ma-na huh]pe butta- 17. š § VIII. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) taiyauš hi-atima (m)ruh(id)-irra [akka kannaš] hupirri ir ku- 18. kti ak[ka ....] hupirri tarlaka mil-e api zaumin (an) Uramašta-na [patur ukku (m)u]-nena (m) tai-

[^86]Col．I．

 －$\quad$ K
20．红并客＜三



 $r \prod_{1} \mid$



§ IX．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：Auramazda granted me this kingdom．Auramazda brought me help［until］I gained this kingdom，and by the grace of Auramazda do I hold this kingdom．
§ X．And（thus）［saith］Darius，［the king］：This is what I did［by the grace］of Auramazda，after I gained the kingdom． He who was named Cambyses，the son of Cyrus，one of our race，ruled the kingdom here before me；and this

19．yauš hi ati kuktak appa anka（m）u－ikki－mar ap tirikka huhpe hut［taš］§ IX．［ai］ak （m）Tari－20．yamauš（m）zunkuk［na］nri（an）Uramašta hi（m）zunkuk－me（m）u tuniš aiak（an）Uramašta pik［ti（m）u taš kuš（m）］u（m）zunkuk－me hi 21．pela aiak zaumin ［（an）U］ramašta－na（m）u（m）zunkuk－me marriya § X．aiak（m）Tariyamau［s（m）zunkuk nanri］hi appa（ m ）u 22．hutta［zaumin（an）Uramas̆］ta－na mene sap appa（ m ）zunkuk metuma（ m ）Kanpuziya hi［s̆e（ m ）Kuraš（ m ）šakri（ m ）cul（id）］（ m ）neman－ma nika－

[^87]Col. I.

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Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis by name, of the same mother and the same father (as he); and afterwards Cambyses slew Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis, the people knew not that Smerdis was slain. Thereupon Cambyses went into Egypt. Then the people became hostile, and the lie [multiplied] in the lands, [even] in Persia, as in Media, and in the other provinces.
23. mi hut[ . . ]lata (m) zunkuk-me marriš (m) Kanpuziya hupirri (m) igiri [(m) Pirtiya hiše] taštama aiak 24. tin . . la atta[ . . . ] ]pu aiak (m) Kanpuziya hupirri (m) Pirtiya ir alpiš sa[p (m) Kanpuzi]ya (m) Pirtiya 25. ir alpiš (m) taš[šu]tum inne turnas̆ appa (m) Pirtiya alpika mene (m) Kanpuziya (m) Muzza[riyap-ik]ki pariš 26. mene ( m ) taššu[tum] a[rik]kaš kutta titkime ( m ) taiyauš-atima iršekki [...] (m) Paršin-ikki
connection with $(m) \operatorname{GUL}(i d), c f$. Col. II, II. so and 60$)$, so that it is probable that this is the correct reading in the present passage.

2. The characters are certainly as printed and not huttaš aiak.
${ }_{3}$ There are traces of this character upon the rock.
${ }^{4}$ Traces of the characters $-\gamma$ and $\Rightarrow \gamma$ are visible upon the rock.
${ }_{5}$ The traces of the last sign in the gap are probably not those of $E-Y$; about five or six signs are wanting.

Col．I．







 $Y$ 谓羚［

30． $Y$ जो川 －VIE $\langle T|=\mid F$

And there was a certain man，a Magian，Gaumâta by name，who raised a rebellion in Paishiyâuvâdâ，in a mountain named Arakadrish．On the fourteenth day of the month Viyakhna he rebelled．He lied unto the people，（saying）：＂I am Smerdis，［the son of Cyrus］，the brother of Cambyses．＂ Then all the people revolted from Cambyses and went

27．kutta（ m ）Ma［ta］pe－ikki aiak kutta（ n 1 ）taiyauš appa taie－atima aiak［mene （ m ）ruh ki］r（ m ）Makuš（ m ）28．Gaumatta hiše hupirri（det．）Naše［umata（？）］ （det．）KUR（id）（det．）Arakkatarris hiše ami i［maka xiv（an）nan（an）ITu］（id） （an）Mikanna－29．š－na pirka hi $[z i] l a$ imaka hupirri（ $m$ ）taššutum（ $m$ ）ap－ir titukka nanri（m）u（m）Pirti［ya（m）Kuras̆（m）sakrı］（m）Kanpuzi－$\quad$ 30．ya（ $m$ ）igi［ri］mara mene（ m ）taššutum marrita（ m ）Kanpuziya－ikki－mar pep［tippa hupirri］－ikki pa－

[^88]Col. I.





 $Y$ E-Y -YY




over unto him, even Persia and Media and the other provinces. He seized the kingdom. On the ninth day of the month Garmapada [they revolted] from Cambyses ; and thereupon Cambyses died by his own hand.
§ XI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king : [That] kingdom of which Gaumâta had robbed Cambyses, that kingdom our [house] had ruled from ancient times. Then Gaumata, the
31. riš kutta ( m ) Paršin aiak kutta ( m ) Mata-pe aiak kutta ( m )taiyauš appa ta[ie ....] (m) zunkuk-me hupirri 32. marriš ix (an) nan (an) ITU (id) (an) Karmapattas̆-na pirka hizila (m) Kanpuziya ir [peptip ai]ak mene (m) Kanpu33. ziya alpi-pe [..]e-ma alpik §XI. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) zunkuk-me [hupe ap]pa (m) Gaumat- 34. [ta ak]ka (m) Ma[ku]s (m)Kanpuziya emitušti (m) zunkuk-me . . tinni karatalari [(m)Gul(id) (m)ni]kami taš mene (m)

[^89]Col．I．
三朔〈三－








38．所 1 閣



 －M く 人［［

Magian，robbed Cambyses of Persia，and of Media，and of the other provinces；he did according to his will，he seized the empire［over them］．
§ XII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：There was no man， either Persian，or Median，or anyone of our race，who took the kingdom from Gaumâta，the Magian．The people feared him ；he slew many people who had known the former Smerdis．For this reason slew he many

35．Gaumatta akka（ m ）Makus̆（ m ）Kaupuziya emitus̆ kutta（ m ）Paršin aiak ku［tta （m）Ma］ta－pe aiak kut－36．ta（m）taiya［u］s̆ appa taie hupirri emituša tuman－e huttas̆（ m ）zunkuk－me［hupipe－na mar］riš 37．§XII．aiak（m）Tariyamauš（m）zunkuk nanri $(\mathrm{m})$ ruh（id）－irra－inna enrirne［akkari inne（ m ）］Parširra in－38．ne（ m ）Mata aiak inne（m）GuL（id）（m）nikami akka（m）Gaumatta（m）Makuš（m）zunkuk－me emi［tuš ．．（m）$]$ taššutum－ka ir 39．ipšiš（m）taššutum iršekki alpiš（m）akka－pe šašša（ $m$ ）Pirtiya ir turnašti hupe［ntukkime（ $m$ ）］taššutum irše－

[^90]Col. I.















people, "That thereby they may not know me, that I am not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." And no man dared do aught with regard to Gaumâta, the Magian, until I came. Then I prayed unto Auramazda; Auramazda brought me help; by the grace of Auramazda on the tenth day of the month Bâgayâdish, with but a few men, I slew Gaumâta, the Magian, and the men who were his chief followers. In a city named Sikayauvatish, in a district of Media named Nisâya, I slew him, and I took the
40. kki alpiš [ai]ni (m) u ir turnampi appa (m) u inne (m) Pirtiya akka (m) Kuraš ( m ) s̆akri aiak ( m ) akkari aški 41. ( m ) Gaumatta (m) Makuš-tupaka inne lilmak kuš (m) u sinni git [mene (m) u (an) U]ramašta pattiya- 42. manyai (an)Uramašta pikti (m) u tas̆ zaumin (an)Uramašta-na $x$ (an) nan [(an) iTU (id) (an)] Pagiyatiš-na 43. pirka hizila ( $m$ ) ruh(id) arıkip-itaka ( m ) u ( m ) Gaumatta akka ( m ) Ma[kuš ir] alpiya kutta (m) 44. ruh(id) appa atarriman nita[mi] hupappi-itaka (det) humaniš (det) Šikkiumatiš hiše (det) Niššiya

Col. I.

 $\rightarrow Y$ 人
 $Y=Y \Pi$ -







49. [Y前] - YY


kingdom from him. By the grace of Auramazda I became king; Auramazda granted me the kingdom.
§ XIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: The kingdom, which had been taken from our race, I again established; I restored it to [its old] place; I made all as it had been before. I built the temples of the gods, which [Gaumâta], the Magian, had destroyed, and for the people I ..... and the herds and the dwelling-
45. hiše (det) taiyauš ( m ) Mata-pe-ikki ami ir alpiya ( m ) zunkuk-me ( m ) u emitu[ma zau]min (an) Uramašta-na 46. (m) u (m) zunkuk-me hutta (an) U[ra]mašta (m) zunkuk-me (m)u tuniš § XIII. aiak (m)Ta[riyamauš (m)] zunkuk nanri (m)zun-kuk- 47. me appa (m) GUL(id) [(m) ni]kami-ik[ki]-mar kutkalarrakki hupe (m) u muggiya ( m ) u [(det) kate-ma zikki]ta sap appa 48. anka appukata hizila [hutta] (m) u (an) ziyan (an) nappanna hutta appa (m) [Gaumatta] akka (m) Makuš 49. [sa]rišıa aiak $(\mathrm{m})$ ! ( m ) [taš]sutum-na . . . taš aiak aš aiak (m) kurtas̆ aiak [(det) urmanni]p-ma appi li-

Col. I.







 $-1=1 Y Y-M<=1$




 $Y$ YEYY Y
places, and the houses, which Gaumâta, the Magian, had seized from them, and I established the people in their place, even Persia, and Media, and all the other provinces. What had been taken away I restored, even as it was before. By the grace of Auramazda this I did ; I laboured until I established our house in its place as it had been before. And I laboured, by the grace of Auramazda, so that our house was not removed by reason of Gaumâta, the Magian.
50. ya appa (m) Gaumatta ak[ka] (m) Makus̆ emaptušta aiak (m) u (m) tas̆šu[tum (det) kate-ma zik]kita kut- 51. ta (m) Paršin aiak kutta (m) Mata-pe aiak kutta (m) taiyauš appa ta[ie marrit]a hizila sap 52. appa anka appukata (m) u appa kutkalarrakki hupe muggiya zaumi[n (an)Uramaš]ta-na hi (m)u hut- 53. ta (m) u palik-me za[. . . .]ma kus̆ (det) urmanni(id) (m) nikami (det) kate-ma zikk[it]a [hizila sa]p appukata ai- 54. ak (m) u palik-me za[ .... za]umin (an) Uramašta-na appa (m) Gaumatta ak[ka (m) Maku]š (det) urmanni(ıd) (m) nikami

[^91]Col．I．



 1 E－YY－－YY 1場情场
 －「等量－ITK

58．－YY AY $\Rightarrow$ HYK $Y$ YY


§ XIV．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：This is what was done by me after I took the kingdom．
§ XV．And（thus）saith Darius：When I had slain Gaumâta， the Magian，then a certain man named Ashina，a Susian， the son of Ukpatarranma，raised a revolt in Susiana， saying：＂I am king of the Susians．＂Then the Susians

55．inne kutnirr［a ．．．］§XIV．aiak（m）Tariyamauš（m）zunkuk nanri hi appa （m）［u－ikki－mar］huttak sa－56．p appa anka appuka（m）zunkuk－me marriya § XV． aiak（m）Tariyamauš（m）zunkuk nanri sap（m）Gaumat－57．ta akka（m）Makuš（m）u alpiya mene（m）Aššina hiše（m）Apirturra（m）Ukpa［tar］ranma（m）šakri 58 ．hupirri （m）Apirtup－ikki imaka nanri（m）zunkuk－me（m）Apirtuppe（m）u hutta－mara［me］ne （m）Apirtip（m）u－

[^92]Col． 1.
59．旤 \ll － $1 \ll \hat{\gamma} \boldsymbol{\gamma}$








 －$-1 /$ 会 - －

 §XVI．的复 1
revolted from me and went over unto this Ashina ；and this man became king of the Susians．And a certain man Nidintu－Bêl by name，a Babylonian，the son of Aniri＇， raised a revolt in Babylon，and lied unto the people， saying：＂I am Nebuchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus．＂ Then all the Babylonian people went over unto this Nidintu－Bêl；the Babylonians revolted，and he seized the government of Babylonia．

59．ikki－mar peptippa $[(\mathrm{m})]$ Asssina hupirri－ikka pariš mene（m）zunkuk－［me］hupirri （m）Apirtip－60．na huttaš aiak kutta（m）ruh kir（m）Nititpel hiše（m）Papilirra （ m ）Ainaira（m）ša－61．kri［hu］pirri（det）Papili imaka（m）taššutum－pe hizila appir titukka nanri（m）u（m）Napkuturru－62．zir tur Nappuneta－na［me］ne （m）tas̆šutum appa（m）Papilip marrita（m）Nitit［pe］l hupirri－ikki 63．pariš mene （m）Papilip peptip（m）zunkuk－me appa（m）Papilippe hupirri marriš § XVI．aiak（m）

[^93]Col. I.




 Y YYF $=\mathrm{F}$






§XVI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then I sent a messenger to Susa, and that Ashina was seized and bound and brought unto me. Then I slew him.
§ XVII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then went I unto Babylon, against that Nidintu-Bêl, who said "I am Nebuchadnezzar." The host of that Nidintu-Bêl was drawn up on a river named the Tigris, and it held the bank of the Tigris, and . . . . . from ships. Then [I divided ?]
64. Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanri mene ( m ) u ( m ) huttik Apirtup-ikki muggiya ( m ) Ašssina hupir- 65. ri marrika rappaka ( m ) u-ikki muggik mene ( m ) u ir alpi § XVII. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk na- 66. nri mene (m) u (m) Papili pariya
(m) Nititpel hupirri-ikka akka nanri (m) u (m) Napkuturruzir (m) 67. tas̆s̆utum appa
(m) Nititpel hupirri-na (det) A (id) (det) Tikra hiše ami pesapti (det) Tikra (det) enri-

[^94]Col. I.

 E-YI ETY YY





the army . . . . ; the one I set on camels, and the other was mounted on horses. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda we crossed over the Tigris, and there I smote the army of that Nidintu-Bêl. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Atriyâdiya we fought the battle. Many of the host slew I there.
 maskamma [ . . . ]ka appapa ANSU-A- 69. AB-Ba(id)-ma appin pepla appapa ANsU-KUR-Ra(id) ir peplippa (an) Uramašta pikti (m) u tas̆ za- 70. umin (an) Uram-ašta-na (det) Tikra anlagi utta ami ( m ) tašsutum appa ( m ) Nititpel hupirri-na alpi71. ya xxvi (an) nan (an) rTU (id) (an) As̆siyatiyas̆na pirka hizila s̆aparrak-umme hutta hu-

[^95]Col. I.






74. 位甲







§ XVIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then I went unto Babylon. When I had not yet come unto Babylon, unto a city named Zazannu, on the banks of the Euphrates, that Nidintu-Bêl, who said "I am Nebuchadnezzar," came against me with an army and he offered battle. Then we fought a battle. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda I smote the host of that Nidintu-Bêl. On the second day of the month Anâmaka we fought
72. t iršekki ( m ) taššutum ami alpi § XVIII. aiak ( m ) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri mene $[(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{u}(\mathrm{m})]$ Papili pariya 73. [sap] (det) Papili inne lippu gitta (det) humaniš(id) (det) Zazzan hiše (det) Upra[tu]-ištamatak a- 74. mi (m) Nititpel hupirri akka nanri (m) u (m) Napkuturruzir (m) taššutum-itaka irrutaš ši- 75. nnik šaparrak-umme huttimanra mene šaparrak-umme hutta hut (an)Uramas̆ta pikti (m)u ta76. š zaumin (an)Ura[maš]ta-na (m) tas̆šutum appa (m)Nititpel hupirri-na ami [alpi]ya II (an)nan (an)ITU(id)
${ }_{1}$ Traces of this character are visible upon the rock.
${ }^{2}$ The traces of the two signs at the beginning of the line are uncertain; they

${ }^{3}$ The traces upon the rock are possibly those of not following sign is yly, not

Col. I.

 $Y$ EMY $\rightarrow 2 \%-\overline{y y}$











the battle. The army of Nidintu-Bêl I utterly defeated, and I drove them into the river. In the stream were they carried away.
§ XIX. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then Nidintu-Bêl fled, and went forth, and came unto Babylon. Then went I unto Babylon. By the grace of Auramazda I took Babylon, and I captured Nidintu-Bêl. Then I slew Nidintu-Bêl in Babylon.
§ XX. And
77. (an)Anamakkaš-na pir[ka] hizila šaparrak-umme hutta hut (m) taššutum appa (m) Nititpel-na (m) u alpi iršek- 78. ki aiak ap-[in (det)]A(id)-ma puttana $\Lambda$ (id) hi-ma sasak § XIX. aiak (m) Tariyamaus̆ (m)zunkuk nanri mene 79. (m) Nititpel hupirri (m)telnip arikip-itaka puttukka sak (det) Papili lipka mene (m)u (det) 80. Papi[li-ikki p]u gitta zaumin (an)Uramašta-na kutta (det)Papili marriya kutta (m) Nititpel hu- 81. pirri marri mene (m) Nititpel hupirri (m)u (det) Papili ir alpi § XX. aiak

[^96]
## Column II.








 Y EMY 距狺?

## Column II.

(thus) saith Darius, the king: While I was in Babylon, these provinces revolted from me: Persia, and Susiana, and Media, and Assyria, and Egypt, and Parthia, and Margiana, and Sattagydia, and Scythia,
§ XXI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: A certain man named Martiya, the son of Cicikhrish, raised a rebellion in a city

Col. II., 1. (m) Tariyamauš (det) zunkuk nanri kuš (m) u (det) Papili enni git appi (m) taiya[u]- 2. š ( m ) u ir peptip ( m ) Paršin aiak (m) Apirtup aiak (m) Matape aiak
( m ) Asšurara aiak $[(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{Mu}]$ - 3. zzariyap aiak (m) Partumap aiak (m) Markuš-pe aiak
(m) Sattakuš aiak (m) Šak- 4. ka-pe §XXI. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m)zunkuk nanri (m) ruh kir (m) Martiya hiše (m)Zin-
${ }^{1}$ There are traces of the sign at the end of the line.
2 The two signs Eyly are quite clear upon the rock. The Susian form of the name of Martiya's father is therefore Zinsakrish, not Ishshanzakrish; the correct form corresponds more nearly to Cicikhrish or Ci(n)cikhrish, the form of the name in Old Persian.

Col. II.




 Y YY

 $Y=11-3$

 §XXII. ザ



in Persia named Kuganakâ; he revolted in Susa, and said unto the people: "I am Ummannish, the king of the Susians." And at that time I was friendly with Susa. Then were the Susians afraid before me, and that Martiya, who had been named their chief, they seized and they slew him.
§ XXII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king : A certain man named Phraortes revolted in Media, and spake unto the people,
5. zakriš (m)šakri (det)humanišs(id) (det) Kukkannakan hiše (m) Paršin-ikki ami artak hupirri ( m ).1- 6. pirtup-ikki imaka ( m ) taššutum-pe hizila ap tiriš̀ nanri ( m ) u ( m ) Ummanniš ( m ) zunkuk ( m ) Apirtup-na ma- 7. ra aiak ( m ) u amer (m) Alpirti in kanna enni git mene ( $m$ ) Alpirtip ( $m$ ) u-ikki-mar ipšip ( $m$ ) Mar- 8. tiya hupirri akka iršarra appine tirišsti ir marrišša ir alpiš §XXII. aiak (m) Ta- 9. riyamaus̆ ( m ) zunkuk nanri ( m ) ruh kir ( m ) Pirrumarıliš hiše hupirri (det) Mata-pe-ikki imaka
${ }^{1}$ This character is visible upon the rock.
${ }^{2}$ This character is visible upon the rock.
${ }^{3}$ The five signs at the end of the line are quite clear upon the rock.

Col．II．




11．$\sim$－$\langle\boldsymbol{Y}$
 －YEYYY－ P Y Y Y YYY－YY




13．二⿰亻弋Y YY－YY－－Y





saying：＂I am Khshathrita，of the house of Cyaxeres．＂ Then the Medians who were in the palace revolted from me and went over unto him．He became king of Media． The Persian and Median army which I had was small． Then I sent the army into Media．A Persian named Hydarnes，my servant，I made their leader，and I said unto him ：＂Go，smite the army of the Medes which doth not

10．（m）taššutum－pe hizila ap tirišša nanri（m）u（m）Šattarrita（m）gul（id） （ m ）Makištarra－na nema－11．nki mara mene（ m ）taššutum（ m ）Mata－pe appa（det） urmanni hupipe（m）u－ikki－mar peptip hu－12．pirri－ikki pariš（m）Mata－pe－ikki （ m ）zunkuk－me hupirri huttas̆（ m ）taššutum（ m ）Paršin aiak（ m ）Mata－pe（ m ）u ta－ 13．š arikki enri mene $(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{u}(\mathrm{m})$ tas̆šutum（ m ）Mata－pe－ikki tippe tah（m）Mitarna hiše（m）Paršir kir（m）u（m）14．liparuri hupirri（m）iršarra appine ir hutta hizila ap tiriya mites（ m ）taššutum（ m ）Ma－

Col. II.



16. - Y

-     - Y

Y
17. EYFY $Y$-Y $\angle 1$ E-Y
 $Y=Y Y Y$ E-II

 ज川1
 -

acknowledge me." Then went Hydarnes with the army unto Media. When he came unto Media, at a city in Media named Marush they fought the battle. The leader of the Medians withstood not (the assault). Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of the rebels. On the twentyseventh day of the month Anâmaka they fought the battle. Then my army did naught ; in a district in
15. ta-pe akka-pe (m) u-nena inue tirimanpi hupipe alpiš nıanka mene (m) Mitarna (m) tasssutum-itaka (det) Mata-pe- 16. ikki sak sap (m) Mata-pe-ikki ir parik (det) humanišs(id) (det) Maruš hiše (det) Mata-pe-ikki ami šaparrak- 17. umme huttas̆ akka (m) Mata-pe-na iršarra amer inne arir (an) Uramašta pikti (m)u ta18. š zaumin (an) Uramašta-na ( $m$ ) taššutum appa ( $m$ ) u-nena ( $m$ ) taššutum appa (m) pattip-na iršekki alpiš $x x$ 19. viI (an) nan (an) ITU (id) (an) Anamakkaš-na pirka hizila šaparrak-umme huttaš mene (m) taššutum appa (m)u-

[^97]Col. II.



21. Y Y = §XXIII. ザ











Media named Kampada they remained until I came unto Media.
§ XXIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king : An Armenian named Dâdarshish, my servant, I sent to Armenia, and I said unto him : "Go, smite the host which is in revolt and doth not acknowledge me." Then Dâdarshish went forth. When he came unto Armenia, the rebels assembled and advanced against Dâdarshish to give him battle. Then
20. nena as̆ki inne huttaš ( m ) taiyauš (det) Kampantaš hiše ( m ) Mata-pe-ikki ami zatiš 21. kuš ( m ) u šinni git ( m ) Mata-pe-ikki § XXIII. aiak ( m ) Tariyamauš ( $m$ ) zunkuk nanri ( $m$ ) Taturšiš̌ 22. hiše ( $m$ ) Arminiyar kir ( $m$ ) u ( $m$ ) liparurı hupirri ( m ) u ( m ) Arminiyap-ikka ir hutla hizila 23. hi tiriya mita ( m ) tas̆s̆utum appa ( m ) pattip ( m ) u-nena inne tirimanpi hupipe alpiš manka mene ( m ) Taturšiš 24. sak sap ( m ) Arminiyap-ikki ir parikka ( m ) pattip pirru ir šarrappa ( m ) Taturšiš ir-ma

Col．II．
 1 E—Y 首 1


26．一家






 YE－II EY




Dâdarshish fought a battle with them．In a city in Armenia named Zuzza Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of the rebels．On the eighth day of the month Thuravâhara they fought the battle．And the rebels assembled for a second time and advanced arainst Dâdar－ shish to give him battle．Then they fought a battle at a fortress in Armenia named Tigra．Auramazda brought

25．Sinnip šaparrak－umme huttiniun upa mene（m）Taturšiš šaparrak－umme ap－ma taš （det）humaniš（det）Zuzza 26．hiše（m）Arminiyap－ikki ami（an）Uramašta pikti（m）u tas̆ zaumin（an）Uramašta－na（m）taššutum 27．appa（in）u－nena（m）tašs̆utum appa （m）pattip－na iršekki alpiš vıII（an）nan（an）ITU（id）（an）Turmar－na pirka 28．hizila šaparrak－umme huttaš aiak šarak 11 －umme－ma（ m ）pattip pirru ir šarrappa（ m ）Taturšiš 29．ir－ma šinnip šaparrak－umme huttiniun upa mene（det）almarriš（det）Tikra hiše （det）Arminiyap－ik－

Col．II．
30．$\langle\boldsymbol{T}$ 会
 Y $\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{F}$ 宣










34．－Y 人 $\rightarrow \boldsymbol{H}^{\prime}$ 人

me help．By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of the rebels．On the eighteenth day of the month Thuravâhara they fought the battle．And the rebels assembled for the third time and advanced against Dâdarshish to give him battle． Then they fought a battle at a fortress in Armenia named Uyamâ．Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of

30．ki ami šaparrak－umme huttaš（an）Uramašta pikti（m）u taš zaumin（an） Uramas̆ta－na（ m ）tas̆šı－31．tum appa（ m ）u－nena（ m ）tašsutum appa（ m ）pattip－na iršekki alpis̆ XviII（an）nan（an）ITU（id）（an）Turmar－na 32．pirka hizila saparrak－ umme huttas̆ aiak šarak in－umme－ma（m）pattip pirru ir šarrappa（m）Ta－33．turšiš ir－ma šinnip šaparrak－umme huttiniun hepra（det）alnıarris̆（det）Uıyama hiše （m）Arminiyap－34．ikki ami šaparrak－umme huttaš（an）Uramašta pikti（m）u tas̆ zaumin（an）Uramašta－na（m）taššu－

COL. II.
 ज्ञा

 $Y$ 为 1 空- Y EY




38. $Y$ -



 $\hat{2}=1 \mathrm{~F}$
the rebels. On the ninth day of the month Thâigarcish they fought the battle. And then Dâdarshish did naught but waited for me until I came unto Media.
§ XXIV. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: A Persian named Vaumisa, my servant, I sent unto Armenia, and I said unto him: "Go, smite the host which is in revolt and doth not
35. tum appa ( m ) u-nena ( m ) taššutum appa ( m ) pattip-na iršekki alpiš ix (an) nan (an) ITU (id) (an) Saikurriziš-na 36. pirka hizila šaparrak-umme huttaš aiak mene ( m ) Taturšiš aški inne huttaš ( m ) un zatiš 37 . kuš ( m ) u Mata-pe-ikki šinni git § XXIV. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) Maumiš- 38. ša hiše (m) Paršir kir (m) u (m) liparuri hupirri (m) u tippe (m) Arminiyap-jkki tah hi- 39. zila hi tiri mite $(\mathrm{m})$ tas̆śsutum appa ( m ) pattip ( m ) u-nena inne tirimanpi hupipe alpiš manka mene

[^98]Col．II．
40．Y要 \ll
 Y







二小 新 $=1-$



acknowledge me．＂Then Vaumisa went forth with the army．When he came to Armenia the rebels assembled and advanced against Vaumisa to give him battle．Then they fought a battle at Izzila in Assyria．Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of the rebels．On the fifteenth day of the month Anâmaka they fought the battle． And the rebels assembled for the second time and advanced against Vaumisa to give him battle．Then

40．（ m ）Maumišša sak sap（ m ）Arminiyap－ikki ir parikka（ m ）pattip pirru ir šarrappa （m）Ma－41．umišša ir－ma šinnip šaparrak－umme huttiniun hupa mene（det）Izzila hiše （det）As̆s̆uran ami šapar－42．rak－umme huttas̆（ $m$ ）Uramašta pikti（ $m$ ）u taš zaumin （an）Uramašta－na（ m ）tas̆šutum appa（ m ）u－43．nena（ m ）taššutum appa（ m ）pattip－na iršekki alpiš xv（an）nan（an）ITU（id）（an）Anamakkaš－na pirka hi－44．zila šaparrak－umme huttaš aiak šarak iI－umme－ma（m）pattip pirru ir sarrappa（m）Maumiš－

Col. II.



46. $Y-H\rangle \angle Y$ E-TY











they fought a battle in a district named Autiyâra. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of the rebels. At the end of the month Thuravahara they fought the battle. Then Vaumisa waited in Armenia, until I came unto Media.
§XXV. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then went I forth from Babylon and came unto Media. When I came unto
45. ša ir-ma sinnip šaparrak-umme huttiniun hupa mene (det) patin (det) Autiyaruš hiše ami šaparrak-um- 46. me huttaš (an) Uramašta pikti (m)u tas̆ zaumin (an) Uramašta-na (m) taššutum appa (m) u-[ne]na (m) taššu- 47. tum appa (m) pattip iršekki alpiš (an) ITU (id) (an) Turmar punkite-ma hizila saparrak-umme hutta48. š mene (m) Maumišs̆a (m)Arminiyap-ikki zatiš kuš (m)u (m) Mata-pe-ikki šinni git § XXV. aiak 49. (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri mene (m)u (det) Papili-mar li . . gitta (m) Mata-pe-ikki pariya sap (m) Ma-

[^99]Col. II.

 $-Y Y<-Y Y Y \lll$













Media, Phraortes, who said "I am king of the Medians," came unto a city in Media named Kundurush. And he offered battle. Then we fought a battle. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda did I utterly overthrow the army of Phraortes. On the twenty-fifih day of the month Adukanisha we fought the battle. Then that Phraortes fled with a few horsemen and went unto Ragâ. Then sent I forth my army. 'Thence was he
50. ta-pe-ikki in paru git (det) humaniśs (id) (det) Kuntarrus̆ hiše (m) Mata-pe-ikki ami (m) Pirrumartiš hupirri ši- 51. nnik akka nanri (m) u (m) zunkuk-me (m) Mata-pe-na hutta-mara šaparrak-umme huttimanra mene šaparrak-umme hu- 52. tta hut (an) Uramašta pikti ( m ) u taš zaumin (an) Uramašta-na ami (m) taššutum appa (m) Pirrumartiš-na (m) 53. u alpi iršekki xxv (an) nan (an) ITU (id) (an) Atukannas̆-na pirka hizila šaparrak-umme butti ut mene ( m ) 54. Pirrumartiš hupirri ( m ) telnip arikkip-itaka puttukka (det) Rakkan sak mene (m) u (m) tas̆s̆utumme-

Col. II.



56. यो











seized and brought to me. I cut off his nose, and his tongue, and his ears, and I put out his eyes; and he was kept fettered in my court. All the people beheld him. Then did I crucify him in Ecbatana, and the men who were his chief followers I imprisoned in the fortress in Ecbatana and . . . . . I impaled (?) them.
§ XXVI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: A man named Citrantakhma, a Sagartian, revolted from me, and said unto the
55. mi tah ami-mar marrika ( m ) u-ikki muggik ( m ) u hi šimme aiak titme aiak siri mazziya urte 56. kituna (det) zip (m) u-nena-ma rappaka marrik (m) taššutum marpepta ir ziyaš aiak mene (det) Akmatana (iss) 57. rur-ma ir patla aiak kutta (m) ruh (id) appa atarriman nitami hupappí hupipe (det) Akmatana (det) almarri58. š-ma MAR-SAG (id) appine sara kuppaka appin sira §XXVI. aiak (m.) Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanri ( m ) ru- 59. h kir ( m ) Ziššantakma hiše (det) Aššakartiya-ra hupirri ( $m$ ) u-ikki-mar peptukka ( $m$ ) taššutum-pe hizila ap

Col．II．










二Y－－Y

可开－Y
people：＂I am king，of the family of Cyaxares ．．．．＂ Then sent I forth a Persian and a Median army．A Median named Takhmaspâda，my servant，I made their leader，and I said unto him：＂Go，smite the host which is in revolt and doth not acknowledge me．＂Then ＇「akhmaspâda went forth with the army．He fought a battle with this Citrantakhma．Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly

60．tiris̆ nanri（ m ）zunkuk－me（ m ）u hutta（ m ）GUL（id）（m）Makištarra－na neman mara mene（m）u（m）tas̆s̆utum（m）Paršin aiak（m）61．Mata－pe tippe tah （m）Takmašpata hiše（m）Mata（m）u（m）li［pa］ruri hupirri（m）iršarra appine ir hutta 62．hizila ap tiriya miteš（ m ）tas̆šutum appa（ m ）pattip（ m ）u－nena inne tirimanpi hupipe alpiš manka mene（m）Tak－63．mašpata（m）taššutum－itaka sak šaparrak－umme（ m ）Ziššantakma hi taš（an）Uramašta pikti（m）u taš 64．zaumin （an）Uramašta－na（m）taššutum appa（m）u－nena（m）taššutum appa（m）pattippe iršekki alpiš kutta（m）

[^100]Col．II．
二人－M
YEEY゙




 － 1 Y 人 V E－II § XXVIII．ザ
川斤 三

overthrow the army of the rebels，and they seized Citran－ takhma，and they brought him unto me．I cut off his nose and his ears，and I put out his eyes，and he was kept in fetters in my court．All the people beheld him．Then did I crucify him in Arbela．
§ XXVII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：This I did in Media．
§ XXVIII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：The Parthians and Hyrcanians revolted from me，and they declared them－ selves of the party of Phraortes．My father Hystaspes

65．Zissšantakma ir marriš（ $m$ ）u－ikki ir muggiš $(m) u$ hi simme aiak siri mazzi urte kituma（det）zi－66． p （ m ）u－nena－ma rappaka marrik（ m ）tas̆šutum marripepta ir ziyaš mene（det）Arpera hiše ami（m）u（is）ru－67．r－ma ir patla §XXVII．aiak （m）Tariyamaus（m）zunkuk nanri hi（m）u（m）Mata－pe－ikki hutta §XXVIII．ai－ 68．ak（m）Tariyamauš（m）zunkuk nanri（m）Partumaš－pe aiak（m）Mirkaniyap （m）u－ikki－mar peptippa（m）Pirru－

[^101]Col. II.












was in Parthia, and the people forsook him and revolted. And then Hystaspes went forth with the people who had remained faithful. At a city in Parthia named Vishpauzâtish he fought a battle with the rebels. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda did Hystaspes utterly overthrow the rebel host. On the twenty-second day of the month Viyakhna they fought the battle.
69. martiš-na tirijaš (m) Miš̆tă̌pa ( m ) u (m) attata (det) Partumaš enrir hupirri (m) tašsutum ir maz- 70. temašša peptip aiak mene ( m ) Miśsas̆pa ( m ) tas̆šutum appa tamini-itaka sak (det) humanišs (id) (det) Mišpauzatiš 71. hiše (det) Partumaš ami. šaparrak-umme ( $m$ ) pattip ap-ma taš (an) Uramas̆ta pikti ( $m$ )u taš zaumin (an) Uramašta-na $(\mathrm{m})$ Mi- 72 . štašpa $(\mathrm{m})$ tasssutum appa ( m ) pattip alpiš iršekki xxıı (an) nan (an) ITU (id) (an) Miyakannaš-na pirka hizila s̆apar-

[^102]Col. II.



 $\mid$ 位 $=$ UTY E-Y Y










§ XXIX. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then sent I a Persian army to Hystaspes from Ragâ. When that army reached Hystaspes, he marched forth with that army. At a city in Parthia named Patigrabanâ they fought a battle. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda did Hystaspes utterly overthrow the rebel host. On the first day of the month Garmapada they fought the battle.
§ XXX. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This did I in Parthia.
73. rak-umme huttaš § XXIX. aiak ( m ) Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanri mene ( m ) u ( m ) tas̆s̆utum ( m ) Paršin (det) Kakkan-mar (m) Mišta- 74. špa-ikki muggiya sap ( m ) taššutum hupipe ( m ) Mištas̆pa-ikki ir parip mene ( m ) Mištašpa ( m ) taššutum 75. hupipe-itaka sak (det) humaniš(id) (det) Pattikrappana hiše (det) Partumaš ami šaparrak-umme huttaš (an) Uramašta pikti (m)u 76. taš zaumin (an) Uramašta-na (m) Mištas̆pa (m) taššutum appla (m) pattip alpiš iršekki I (an) nan (an) ITư (id) (an) Kar- 77. mapattas̆ pirka hizila saparrak-umme huttaš §XXX. aiak (m) Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanri mene ( m ) taiyau-

Col．II．
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 $Y$ E－Y EY


81．$E$ E $\langle Y$－






§ XXXI．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：The province named Margiana revolted from me．A certain man，a Margian named Frâda，they made their leader．Ancl at that time a Persian named Dâdarshish，my servant，was satrap in Bactria．I sent a messenger unto him，and said：＂Thou shalt go and smite the host which is in revolt and doth not acknowledge me．＂Then Dâdarshish went forth with the army and he gave battle to the Margians．Auramazda

78．š（m）u－nena ahuttap hi（m）u（m）Partumas̆ hutta §XXXI．aiak（m）Tariyamauš （ m ）zunkuk nanri（ m ）taiya－79．us̆（ m ）Markuš hiše（ m ）u－ikki－mar peptippa（m）ruh kir（ m ）Pirrata hiše（m）Markus̆－irra hupirri（m）80．zunkuk appine ir huttaš aiak mene（ $m$ ）u（ $m$ ）Taturšiš hiše（ $m$ ）Paršir kir（m）u（m）liparuri（m）šakšapamana－me （det）Pa－81．kšiš huttaš（ m ）huttik hupirri－ikki muggiya nangi mitkine（ m ）taššutum appa（ m ）pattip（ m ）u－nena inne tirimanpi 82．hupipe alpišne manka mene（ m ）Tataršiš （m）tašsutum－itaka sak šaparrak－umme Markus̆－pe ap－ma taš（an）Uramašta pikti
${ }^{1}$ The determinative $Y$ occurs here before luitik，as in Col．I，1． 64.

Col. II.





§XXXII. 并域 $Y$ E-TH M M E


brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda did my army utterly overthrow the army of the rebels. On the twenty-third day of the month Atriyâdiya they fought the battle.
§ XXXII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This I did in Bactria.
§ XXXIII. And
83. ( m ) u taš zaumin (an) Uramašta-na (m)taššutum appa (m)u-nena (m)taššutum appa (m)pattip-na alpiš iršekki xxul (an)nan 84. (an) ITU (id) (an) Asssiyatiyaš-na pirka hizila šaparrak-umme huttas § XXXII aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m)zunkuk na85. nri mene (m)taiyaus̆ (m)u-nena ahuttap hi (m)u (det) Pakšiš hutta § XXXIII. aiak

## Column III.







 - EMY] YEEM-





## Column III.

(thus) saith Darius, the king: A certain man named Vahyazdâta, who dwelt in a city named Târavâ in Yautiyâ in [Persia, for the second time] rebelled in Persia. He said to the people: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." [Then . . . . . the Persian people who were] in the palace revolted from me and went over unto him. He became king of Persia.
§ XXXIV. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: The few Persian
Col. III., 1. [(m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m)ruh kir (m)]Mištatta hiše (det) humaniš[(id) (m)Tur]rauma hiše (m) Yautiyaš hiše 2. (im) Paršin]-ikki ami $\operatorname{ar}[t a k$ hupirri šarak II-um]me ma (m) Paršin-ikki [i]maka [(m)taššu]tum-pe ap tiriš nanri (m) u (m) Pirti- 3. ya tur Kuras̆-na mara [mene (m) taššutum (m) Paršin appa (det) u]rmanni (det)anza[ . . . .] paka hupipe (m) u-ikki-mar pepti- 4. ppa hupirri-ikki [pariš (m) Paršin-ikki (m)zunkuk-me] hupirri hut[taš] §XXXIV. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri

[^103]Col. III.

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and Median people, who were in the palace and had not revolted from me, and the Median army which was with me I sent forth. A Persian named Artavardiya, my servant, I appointed as their leader, and the rest of the Persian army came unto me in Media. And Artavardiya went with the Persian army unto Persia. When he came unto Persia, at a city in Persia named
5. [ . . . ] (m) taššutum (m) Par[šin aiak (m) Mata-pe arikip akka-pe] (det) urmata [(m) u-ikki]-mar inne peptip hupipe aiak (m) tašs̆u- 6. tum (m) Mata-pe (m)u [taš hupipe ti]ppe tah (m) Ir[tumartiya hi]še (m) Paršir kir (m) u (m)liparuri 7. [hu]pirri $[(\mathrm{m})]$ iř̌ar $[r a$ appine ir hutta aiak kutta $(\mathrm{m})]$ taššutum $(\mathrm{m})$ Paršin an $[\ldots(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{u}]$-ir (det) Mata-pe-ikki (m) u kik aiak 8. (m)Ir[tumarti]ya ( m ) tas̆[šutum-itaka (m) Paršin$i k] k i$ sak sap (m) [Paršin]-ikki ir parik (det) humaniš(id) (det) Rakkan

[^104]Col. III.



10. ${ }^{8}$ [ 4 勿





12. [全 $-\boldsymbol{H}$



Rakhâ ..... that Vahyazdâta who said "I am Smerdis" advanced with the army against Artavardiya to give him battle. And then they fought a battle. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda my army utterly overthrew the army of Vahyazdâta. On the twelfth day of the month Thuravahhara they fought the battle. And then fled that Vahyazdâta with a few horse-
9. [hiše . . .] (m) Paršin-ik[ki .....] ami (m) Mištatta hupirri [akka nan]ri (m)u (m) Pirtiya taššutum-itaka 10. [(m)Irtumartiya ir-ma šinnik šaparrak]-umme huttiman[ra ai]ak mene šaparrak-umme huttaš (an) Uramašta 11. [pikti (m)]u tas̆ za[umin (an) Uramašta-na (m) taš]s̆utum appa (m) u-nena (m) tas̆s̆utum appa (m) Miš-tatta-na alpiš ir- 12. [sek]ki xıı (an) nan (an)[ITU(id) (an) Turmar-na pi]rka hizila saparrak-umme huttaš aiak mene (m) Mištat-

[^105]Col. III.




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men, and came . . . . . to Paishiyâuvâdâ. From that place this army advanced against Artavardiya to give him battle. At a mountain named Paraga they fought a battle. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda my army utterly overthrew the army of Vahyazdâta. On the fifth day of the month Garmapada they fought the battle, and they took Vahyazdâta, and they took also the men who were his chief followers.
13. [ta hu]pirri (m)telni[p arikip-itaka (m) Pišeumata] puttukka[.. ]appa ir-ma parišs ami-mar šarak ( m ) tas̆šutum hu- 14. [pirri] ( m ) Irtumartiya [ir-ma šinnik šaparrak-umme] huttimanra (det) kUR (id) [(det)]Parrakka hiše ami šaparrak-umme hutta- 15. [š (an) U]ramašta pik[ti (m) u taš zaumin (an) U]ramašta-na (m) taššutum appa ( m ) u-nena aiak ( m ) taššutum appa ( m ) Miš- 16. [tat]ta-na alpiš ir[šekki v (an) nan (an) ITU (id) (an)]Karmapattaš-na pirka hizila šaparrak-umme huttaš aiak kut-

[^106]17．宣川界［












§ XXXV．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：Then that Vahyaz－ data and the men who were his chief followers did I hang［on crosses］in Uvâdaicaya．
§ XXXVI．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：This I did in Persia．
§ XXXVII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：That Vahyazdâta who said，＂I am Smerdis，＂sent an army unto Arachosia．

17．ta $[(\mathrm{m})$ Mi］statta［hupirri ir marrišs aiak］（ m ）ruh（id）appa atarriman nitami hupapp marriš § XXXV．ai－18．ak［（m）］Tariyamauš［（m）zunkuk nanri mene （m）Mištaךtta hupirri aiak（m）ruh（id）appa atarriman nitami hupappi－i－19．taka （det）Mateziš「．．hiše ami（iş）rur－ma］appin patla § XXXVI．aiak （m）Tarıỵamauš（m）zunkuk nanri hi（m）u（m）Paršin－ikki hu－20．tta §XXXVII． aiak $[(\mathrm{m})$ Tariy $]$ ama［us̆（ m ）zunkuk nan］ri（m）Mis̆tatta hupirri akka nanri（m）u （m）Pirtiya hupir－

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Col. III.
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[... Y 〈三E] EMY E-Y


He appointed a certain man to be their leader against a Persian named Vivâna, my servant who was satrap of Arachosia. Thus spake he unto him, saying: "Go, smite Vivâna and that host which acknowledgeth king Darius." Then that army which Vahyazdâta had sent came unto Arachosia to Vivâna. At a fortress in Arachosia named Kâpishakânish they fought a battle. Auramazda brought
21. rí (m) taššutum (det) Arra[umatiš ti]p[pe taš (m)]ruh(id) kir iršarra appine ir huttaš (m) Mimana hiše (m) Paršir- 22. ra (m) u (m) liparuri [(m) šaks̆apama]na-me [(m) Arraumati] š huttaš hupirri-ikki hizila ap tiriš mites̆ (m) Mimana 23. ir alpiš kutta ( m ) t[as̆šutum hupipe akka-pe ( m ) Ta]riyamauš ( m ) zunkuk-na tirimanpi mara mene ( m ) taššutum hupipe (det) 24. Arraumatiš (m) Mi[mana-ikki . . . . $]$ mi[. . . . (m) Mi]štatta tippe tašti (det) almarriš (det) Kappiššakaniš

Col．III．
25．－全 1 准











me help．By the grace of Auramazda my army utterly overthrew the army of the rebels．On the thirteenth day of the month Anâmaka they fought the battle．The rebels assembled a second time，and they fought a battle with Vivâna in a district named Gandutava．Auramazda brought me help．By the grace of Auramazda my army

25．hiše（ $m$ ）Arraumati［̌̌̌－ikki ami s̆apar］rak－［umme ．．．．．］taš（an）Uramašta pikti （m）u taš zaumin（an）Uramas̆－26．ta－na $[(m)$ tas̆ $] s$ su $[t u m$ appa（m）u－nena（m）taššu－ tum appa（m）palti］p－na alpis̆ iršekki xuı（an）nan（an）ITU（id）（an）Anamakkaš－na pi－ 27．rka hizila šaparrak－um［me hutta］š［aiak šarak ir－um］me－ma（m）pattip pirru ir šarrappa šaparrak－umme（ n ）Mimana－ita 28．š（m）patin（m）［Kan］tuma［．．hiše ami huttas̆］（an）Uramašta pikti（m）u tas̆ zaumin（an）Uramašta－na（m）taššutum

[^108]Col. III.




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utterly overthrew the army of the rebels. On the seventh day of the month Viyakhna they fought the battle. And then the man whom Vahyazdâta had appointed as the leader of the army fled with a few horsemen, and he went forth and came unto a fortress in Arachosia named Arshâdâ, the dwelling-place of Vivâna. Then Vivâna marched with the army after him, and there he captured that man who had been appointed leader of the army and the men who were his chief followers, and he slew them.
29. appa (m) u-nena (m) tašsuf[tum appa (m) patti]p-[na alpiš irše]kki vir (an)nan (an) ITv (id) (an) Miyakannaš-na pirka hizila క̌apar- 30. rak-umme huttaš [aiak mene ( m ) ru]h [akka] ( m ) tasssutum-na iršarra ( m ) Mistatta ir huttas̆ti hupir- 31. ri (m) telnip ar[iki]pi[taka puttukka s]ak (det) almarris (m) Iršata hiše (det) Arraumatiš $\left.\left.\begin{array}{ll}\text { (det) irmalam ( } \mathrm{m} \text { ) } & \text { 32. Mimana-na ami lip }[k a ~ m e n e ~(~ \\ \mathrm{m}\end{array}\right)\right]$ Mi $[$ mana $(\mathrm{m})$ tasssutum]-itaka meri irtaka sak ami ( m ) ruh hupirri akka ( m ) tas̆- $\quad 33$. šutum-na irs̆arra [tirišti hupirri ai $]$ ak $[(\mathrm{m})$ ruh $]$ (id) akka-pe atarriman nitami hupappi maurisssa appin alpi-

Col. III.
34. IIII §xxxvini. in -














§ XXXVIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This I did in Arachosia.
§ XXXIX. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: While I was in Persia and Media, the Babylonians revolted a second time. A certain man named Arakha, an Armenian, the son of Haldita, rebelled in a city in Babylonia named Dubâla; and thus did he lie to the people, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus." And then the Babylonian people revolted from me and went over unto that Arakha;
34. š §XXXVIII. aiak (m)[Tariya]mau[š (m)zunkuk nanri] mene (m) taiyaus (m) u-nena ahuttap hi (m)u (det) Arrau- 35. matis̆ hutta § XXXIX. [aiak (m)]Ta[riyamauš (m)]runkuk nanri kuš (m)u (m) Paršin-ikki aiak (m) Mata-pe-ikki enni 36. git šarak il-umme-ma (m) Pa[pili]p pe[p]tippa (m)ruh kir (m) Arakka hiše ( m ) Arminiyar kir ( m ) Altita ( m ) šakri 37. hupirri (det) humaniš (id) (det)Tuppa[la hiše] (det) Pa [pili ami-mar hupir]ri [i]maka hizila titukka (m) taššutum-pe ap tiriš nanri ( m ) u ( m ) Nap- 38. kuturruzir tur Nappu[neta]-na [aiak mene (m)tašs̆utum] (m)Papilip (m)u-ikki-mar (m) peptippa (m) Arakka hupirri-ik-

Col. III.















and he seized Babylon and he became king of Babylon. And then sent I an army unto Babylon. A Median named Vindafranâ, my servant, I appointed as their leader, and thus I spake unto him: "Go, smite that host of the Babylonians that doth not acknowledge me." And then Vindafranâ marched with the army to Babylon. Auramazda brought me help. By the grace of Auramazda Vindafranâ [took] Babylon and he brought over (?) the people unto [me]. On the twenty-second day of the month
39. ki pariš aiak (m)Papi[li hupir]ri [marriš (m)zunkuk]-me (m)Papili hupirri huttas̆ aiak mene ( m ) u ( m ) taššutum ( m ) Papi- 40. [li]ppe tah (m) Mi[ntaparn]a hiše $[(\mathrm{m})$ Mata $(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{u}](\mathrm{m})$ liparuri hu[pir]ri (m) iršarra appine ir hutta hi- 41. zila ap tiriy[a mi]tes̆ $[(\mathrm{m})$ taššutum ( m ) Papilip] akka-pe ( m ) u-nena inne tirimanpi hupipe alpiš manka aiak mene [(m) Mi]- 42. ntaparna (m) taššut[um-itaka (m) Papi]li [pariš (an) U]ramašta pikti (m)u taš zaumin (an) Uramašta-na (m) Min- 43. taparna (m) Papili [.....]-ikki [(m)taššutum a]ppin pirpiš xxıI (an)nan (an)ITU (id) (an) Marka-zanaš-na pirka [hi].

Col. III.















Markazanash that Arakha who said "I am Nebuchadnezzar" was seized and fettered, together with the men who were his chief followers. Then I commanded, saying: "Let that Arakha, and the men who were his chief followers, be hanged on crosses in Babylon."
§ XL. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: This I did in Babylon.
§ XLl. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: This, that I did, by the grace of Auramazda I accomplished in this wise. While I have been king, I have fought nineteen battles. By the
44. zila (m) Arakka hup[irri akka] nanri $[(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{u}(\mathrm{m})$ Napkutur]ruzir mara marrik aiak (m) ruh (id) appa atarriman nitam[i] 45. hupappi-itaka mar[rika] rappa[ka mene hizila] (m) u šera (m) Arakka hupirri aiak (m) ruh (id) akka-pe atarr[i]. 46. man nitami hu-pap[pi- ita]ka (det) Pa[pi]li [(iss)rur-ma] peplip § XL. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk na[n]- 47. ri hi (m) u (det) Papi[li .... hutta] §̧ XLI. [aiak (m) Ta]riyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri hi appa (m)u hutta (det)pelk[i]. 亿8. ma zaumin (an) Ura[maš]ta-[na (m)]u [hutta kuš (m)zunkuk-me] hutta xix (det)pet hutta zaumin (an)Uramasta-na (m)u appin
${ }^{1}$ The traces of the sign before $\rightarrow$ are possibly those of should possibly be restored as [(is)rur-ma ma]ra peplip.

Col. III.
49. $2 \rightarrow$ 竝









 -5 春 $Y=-1 I T\langle Y|$



grace of Auramazda I gained them, and I captured nine kings. One named Gaumâta, the Magian, lied, saying : "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus"; this man caused Persia to revolt. And a Susian named Ashina caused the Susians to revolt, and said: "I am king of the Susians." And a Babylonian named Nidintu-Bêl lied, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus"; this man caused the Babylonians to revolt. And a Persian named Martiya lied, saying: "I am Ummannish, king of the Susians"; this man caused the Susians to revolt. And a Median named
49. alpiya aiak ix (m)[zunkuk-ip (m)]u mau[riya ki]r (m) Gaumatta hiše (m) Makuš titukka nanri (m) u (m) Pirti- 50. ya tur Kuras̆-na hupi[rri (m) Paršin pe]p[tas̆ aiak (m) A]šina hiše (m) Apirtarra hupirri (m) Apirtip appin peptas̆- 51. ša nanri (m) zun-kuk-me (m)[Apirtup-na] (m)u [hutta mara aia]k (m) Nititpel hiše (m) Papilir kir titukka nanri (m)u (m)Nap[ku]- 52. turruzir tur Napuneta-na [hu]pir[ri (m)Papili]p peptiš aiak ( m ) Martiya hiše ( m ) Parširir kir titukka na- 53. nri (m) u (m) Umman[niš (m) zunkuk (m) A]pir[tip-na hupirr]i (m) Apirtip peptaš aiak (m) Pirrumartiš hiše (m) Mata $\mathrm{t}[\mathrm{i}]$

Col. III.

结






57. - 1 K


58.



Phraortes lied, saying: "I am Khshathrita, of the race of Cyaxeres"; this man caused the Medians to revolt. And a Sagartian named Citrantakhma lied, saying: "I am king of the race of Cyaxares"; this man caused the Sagartians to revolt. And a Margian named Frâda lied, saying: "I am king of the Margians"; this man caused the Margians to revolt. And a Persian named Vahyazdâta lied, saying : "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus"; this man caused Persia to revolt. And an Armenian named Arakha lied, saying:
54. tukka nanri (m) u [(m) Šattarrit $]$ ta $[(\mathrm{m})$ GUL (id) (m) Mak]ištarra-na mara hupirri (m)Mata-pe ap-in peptaš aiak (m)[Zi]- 55. ššantakma hiše (m)[Aššakartiy]a-ra [titukka nan]ri (m) zunkuk-me (m) u hutta (m) GUL (id) (m) Makištarra-na mara hupirr[i (m)] 56. Aššakartiyap [peptaš aiak] (m) Pi[rrata hi]še (m) Markuš-irra titukka nanri (m) zunkuk-me (m) Markuš-pe-na (m)[u] 57. hutta hupirri (m) Markuš.pe pe]p[taš aiak (m) Mi]štatta hiše ( m ) Parširra titukka nanri (m) u (m) Pirti- 58. ya tur Kurašna hu[pirri ( $m$ ) Par]šin appin [pep]taš aiak ( m ) Arakka hiše (m) Arminiya-ra titukka nanri $[(\mathrm{m})]$

Cor．III．
 －H § XLII．II－E－ 1 E－Y

60．－ITTく E＝M并 Y
 §XLII．ザ






＂I am Nebuchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus＂；this man caused the Babylonians to revolt．
§ XLII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：These are the nine kings whom I captured in these battles．
§ XLIII．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：As to these provinces which revolted，lies made them rebellious，so that their peoples revolted from me．And then Auramazda delivered them into my hand．As I would，so did I unto them．

59．u（m）Napkuturruzi［r tur Nap］puneta－［na ma］ra hupirri（m）Papilip ap－in peptaš § XLII，aiak（m）Tia－60．riyamauš（ m ）zunkuk［nanri（ m ）appi hi ix（ m ）］zun－ kuk－ip appa（m）u pet hi－atima mauriya §XLIII．aiak 61．（m）Tariyamau［š $(\mathrm{m})$ zunkuk nanri $(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{t}$ aiyaus̆ hi appa（ m ）peptippi appi titkime appin pe－62．ptaš appa appi［ne（ m ）taššutum－pe（ m ）u－ikki－mar pep］tip aiak mene（an）Uramašta kurpi （m）u－nena－ma appin

[^109]Col．III．



以場 $=1 \rightarrow$ 白 －Y＝信



 －－ 1 人




§ XLIV．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：Thou who mayest be king hereafter，guard thyself from lies！The man who lieth shalt thou sternly chastise，if thou thinkest＂（thereby） my land shall be unharmed．＂
§ XLV．And（thus）saith Darius，the king：This that I did，by the grace of Auramazda I accomplished in this wise ；and thou， who mayest hereafter read this inscription，shalt believe that which I did，which is written in this inscription， and thou shalt not hold it for lies！

63．huttas̆ sap（m）［u anerazila hizi］la［appi］n hutta §XLIV，aiak（m）Tariyamauš （m）zunkuk nanri（m）ni（m）64．zunkuk（m）akka mešsin［nekti titkimme－mar］ tarlaka tun nišgiš（m）ruh（id）－irra titenra hupirri tar－65．laka milli e－a［．．．anka hizila urmanti］（m）taiyauš－mi tarma asstu § XLV，aiak（m）Tariyamauš（m） 66. zunkuk nanri hi appa $[(\mathrm{m}) \mathrm{u}$ hutta zaumin（an）］Uramašta－na（det）pelki－ma hutta aiak $\mathrm{m})$ ni（m）akka mes̆sin（det）tup－67．pi hi peuranti ap［pa（m）u hutta appa］（det）tuppi hi－ma rilik huhpe uriš aini titkimme ur［man］－

[^110]Col III.
68. H







 M < - Y E- =



§ XLVI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: I declare as the follower of Auramazda that this is true and not lies which in this wise I accomplished.
§XLVII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: By the grace of Auramazda much else was accomplished by me which is not written in this inscription ; therefore on this account whosoever shall hereafter read this inscription, shall not regard my deeds as boastings, but shall believe them and hold them not for lies.
68. ti § XLVI. aiak (m) Tari[yamauš (m) zunkuk nan]ri ankirir (an) Uramašta-ra sap appa hi siri inne titk[i]. 69. mme (m)u (det) pelki-ma [hutta § XLVII. aiak ( m )] Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanri zaumin (an)Uramašta-na taikita ( m ) 70, u-nena irşekki [hut]tuk [....ap]pa tuppi hi-ma inne rilik hupentukkimme aini (m) akka (det) tuppi hi mes̆- 71. šin peranra [ . . . ]-mar appa (m) u-nena huttak hupirri inne urinra titkime urman-

[^111]Col. III.
72. - ITY<




 <-MIT< = STY


 $\rightarrow$ -



§ XLVIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: By former kings, while they reigned, such was not done as I in this wise, by the grace of Auramazda, have accomplished.
§ XLIX. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: So shalt thou believe what I have done. On that account conceal it not. And if thou concealest not this proclamation, but makest it known unto the people, shall Auramazda be a friend unto thee, and . . . . . thy race, and thou shalt live long! But
72. ri § XLVIII. aiak (m) Tari[yamauš ( m ) zunkuk nanr]i ( m ) akka-pe ( m ) zunkukip irpippi kuš enpep hupipe-na hi nippak inne 73. huttak sap (m) u [pelki-ma zaumin (an)]Ưramašta-na hutta §XLIX. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri . . (m) ni uriš 74. appa (m) u hutta hizila hu[pentukkime aini ta]rtanti aiak anka liltin hi inne tartinti ( m ) taššutum ap-in tirinti (an) Ura- 75. mašta (m)nin kanešne aiak [....(m) GUL](id)-ne aiak kutta . . llik takataktine aiak anka šarak liltin hi tarti[n]-

[^112]Col. III.











if thou concealest this proclamation, and makest it not known unto the people, may Auramazda smite thee, and mayest thou not perpetuate thy race!
§ L. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: This that I did, I accomplished in this wise by the grace of Auramazda. Auramazda, the god of the Arians, brought me help and the other gods, (all) that there are.
§ LI. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: On this account Auramazda, the god of the Arians, brought me help, and the
76. ta ( m ) taššutum inne at [... (an) Uramašta] ( m ) nin alpišne aiak kutta (m) GUL (id)-ne aini kitinti § L. aiak (m) Tariyamau- 77. š (m) zunkuk nanri hi appa ( $m$ ) u [hut]ta zaumin (an) Uramas̆ta-na (det) pelki- ma hutta (an) Uramašta (an) nap (m) Arriyanam pik- 78. ti (m)u taš aiak [(an)nap] ta[ip ap]pa enrina § LI. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri huhpentukkime (m) Uramaš- 79. ta (an) nap (m) Arriya[nam pikti aiak kut]ta (an) nap appa taippe sap apna[...] (m) u inne arikka am aiak inne tituk-

[^113]Col. III.








 $Y$ E-Y $M Y$ YYK
83. 豆颔 Y


other gods also, because I was not wicked. nor a liar, nor an evildoer; neither I, nor my race. According to the laws I ruled, and neither . . . . nor . . . . . injustice . . . . . Any man who had served my house, have I surely protected, and whosoever had done it injury have I utterly destroyed. Wrong have I done to none . . . .
§ LII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Thou who shalt be king hereafter, be not the friend of a liar, nor of the man that doth wrong.
80. kurra git aiak inne [appanlakurra git in]ne ( $m$ ) u aiak inne ( m ) GUL (id)-mi šutur ukku hupa git aiak inne ( m ) ippakra inne ( m ) iš- 81. tukra appanla-ikkim[me . . . ] (m) ruh (id)-irra akka (det) urmanni (id) (m) u-nena matun parrušta hupirri tarlaka ir kukti 82. aiak (m) akka al- . .-ma ir hu[pirri tarlaka (m) u ir] apiya appanla-ikkimme akkari uggi inne hutta § LII. aiak (m) Tari- 83. yamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) ni [(m) zunkuk (m) akka meššin] nekti (m) ruh (id)-irra titukra hupirri aini in kannenti aiak aini (m) akka appan-

> The sign is not

Col. III.










है जा =-या नो



§ LIII. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Thou who hereafter shalt see this inscription which I have written beside these sculptures, shalt not destroy them, but shalt guard them so long as thou livest. And if thou seest this inscription beside these sculptures and destroyest them not, but guardest them so long as thou livest, then shall Auramazda be thy friend and thy race shalt thou perpetuate, and thou shalt live a long life, and whatsoever thou desirest to do shall Auramazda cause to prosper. But if thou destroyest this inscription beside these sculptures and guardest them not, then may Auramazda smite thee, and thy race mayest thou
84. la-ikkimme huttiš § LIII. [aiak (m) T'a]riyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) ni akka meššin (det) tuppi hi ziyanti appa (m) u rili- 85. ra hi innakkani-ma hu[pipe . . . . ] ] mar[ . . . . aini s]arinti sap innippatta hizila kuktaš aiak anka (det)tuppi hi ziyan- 86. ti hi innakkani-ma [aiak inne appin sa]rinti sap innippatta zila kuktanta (an) Uramašta (m) nin kanešne ai- 87. ak kutta (m) GUL(id)-ne [kitinti aiak mi]lli takatuktine aiak kutta appa huttanti huhpe (an) Uramašta azzašne ai-

[^114]Col. III.









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 $Y=9 Y \mid$
not perpetuate, and may Auramazda curse whatsoever thou desirest to do.
§LIV. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Intaphernes, the son of Vayaspâra, a Persian, and Otanes, the son of Thukhra, a Persian, and Gobryas, the son of Mardonius, a Persian, and Hydarnes, the son of Bagâbigna, a Persian, and Megabyzus, the son of Dâduhya, a Persian, and Ardumanish, the son of Vahauka, a Persian-these men aided me until I slew Gaumâta, the Magian, who said ' I am
88. ak anka (det) tuppi hi [innakkani-ma sa]rinti inne kuktanti (an) Uramašta (nı) nin alpišne aiak kutta (m) Gul (id)-ne aini 89. kitinti [aiak appa huttanti ap-in] (an) Uramašta rippišne § LIV. aiak (m)Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri (m) Min90. taparna hiše (m) Mišpar[ra (m) šakri (m) Paršir]ra aiak (m) Huttana hiše ( m ) Tukkurra ( m ) šakri ( m ) Parširra aiak ( m ) Gauparma hiše 91. (m) Martuniya $(\mathrm{m})$ šakri (m)[Parširra aiak (m) Mi]tarna hıše (m) Pakapikna (m)šakri (m) Parširra aiak (m) Pakapukša hiše (m) Tattu[hi]- 92. ya (m)šakri (m)Parsirra [aiak (m)Artumanniš] (m) Maukka (m)šakri (m)Parširra appi (m)ruh(id) (m)u tahup kuš (m) u (m) Gauma

Col. III.






Smerdis, the son of Cyrus," and at that time these men were of assistance to me. O thou king, who hereafter shalt be . . . ., protect these men!

## Column IV.


93. tta (m) akka (m) Makuš [ir alpiya akka nanr]i (m) u (m) Pirtiya tur Kuraš-na aiak amer (m) ruh (id) (m) appi (m) u taumanli- 94. p (m) ni (m) zunkuk akka meš[sin nekti . . . . . ] id ) appa (m) ruh (id) appi ir kuktaš
Col. IV. [

1. [. . . . . . . . .] (m) Papilip marri[
(m)]
2. Papilip peptip (m) zunkuk-me appa (m) Papili hupirri hu[....] an[.......... (m)]
[^115]Col. IV.



3. I sent a messenger unto the Susians ; that Ashina was seized [and brought unto me] in fetters [ .........]

## EPIGRAPHS.

A. Inscription above the figure of Darius.






A. $\S$ I. I am Darius, the king, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, the king . . ., the king of Persia.
§ II. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: My father is Hystaspes, and the father of Hystaspes was Arsames, and the father of
3. u (m) huttik (m)Apirtup-ikki muggiya (m)Aššina hupirri marrika rappa[ka (m) u-ikki muggik
. . . . . . . . . . ]
A. 1. § I. (m) u (m) Tariyamauš ( m ) zunkuk ( m ) Mištas̆pa ( m ) šakri ( m ) Akkamannišši-
2. ya ra (m)zunkuk (m)zunkuk-na (m) u lan (m)zunkuk (m) Paršin-ikki § II. aiak
(m) 'Tariyamau- 3. ъ ( m ) zunkuk nanri ( m ) u ( m ) attata ( m ) Mištašpa aiak (m)Mištas̆-
 the rock. The signs $=\mathbb{Y}=\mathbb{T} K$ are well preserved.




6. Y Wi -

 Y







Arsames was Ariyaramnes, and the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes, and the father of Teispes was Achaemenes.
§ 111. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: On that account do we call our race the Achaemenian; from antiquity are we descended ; and from antiquity hath our race been kings.
§ IV. And (thus) saith Darius, the king: Eight kings of my race have held the kingdom before (me); as the ninth do I rule the kingdom. In two lines have we been kings.
4. pa ( m ) atteri ( m ) Iršamma aiak ( m ) Irs̆amma ( m ) atteri ( m ) Arriyaramna ai- 5. ak (m) Arriyaramna (m)atteri (m)Zišpiš aiak (m) Ziṣpiš (m) atteri 6. (m) Akkamanniš \$ III. aiak (m) Tariyamauš (m) zunkuk nanri huhpentukkime (m) ni- 7. ku (m) GUı. (id) (m) Akkamanniššiya tirimaniun šaššata karatalari (m) 8. s̆a- ... ut aiak šašăata karatalari (m) GUL (id) (m) nikami (m) zunkuk-ip § IV. aiak (m) 9. Tariyamauš (m)zunkuk nanri vini (m)zunkuk-ip (m)Gul (id) (m)u-nena appuka ( m ) zunkuk 10. me marris ( m ) u ix-ummema ( m ) zunkuk-me hutta šamak-mar (m) niku (m) zunkuk-ip ut

## 1 Sic.

2. The graver of this epigraph wrote $\langle\wedge$ as $\langle\sim$ in this and the following lines.
B. Inscription below the prostrate figure of Gaumâta, the Magian.



C. Inscription above tie figure of Ashina, the Susian Pretender.
3. $-\frac{1}{Y}{ }_{W H}\left\langle Y_{2}=Y\right.$





## D. Inscription above the figure of Nidintu-Bel, the Babylonian Pretender.




4. - होण
5. E- -


B. This Gaumâta, the Magian, lied (saying) : "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus ; I rule the kingdom."
C. This Ashina lied (saying) : "I am king of the Susians."
D. This Nidintu-Bêl lied (saying): "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus ; I am king of the Babylonians."
B. 1. hi (m) Gaumatta (m) Makus̆ titukka nanri (m) u (m) 2. Pirtiya tur Kuras̆-na (niju (m) zunkuk-me hutta-mara
C. 1. hi ( m ) Ašina
2. titukka nan-
3. ri (m) zunkuk-me (m) A-
4. pirtippe (m)u
5. hutta-mara
D. 1. hi (m) Nititpe-
2. 1 titukka nan-
3. ri (m) u (m) Napkutur-
4. razir tur Nap- 5. puncta-na ( m ) zunkuk-me ( m ) l'a- 6. pilippe ( m )u hut- 7. ta-mara

[^116]E. Insckiption above the figure of Phraortes, the Median Pretender.

F. Inscription above the figure of Martiya, the Susian Pretender.



G. Inscription above the figure of Citrantakhma, the Sagartian Pretender.




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4. -EM- =% Y MYO Y Y Y Y Y
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6. -YY< =Y E=MY YEY EEMC
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E. This Phraortes lied (saying): "I am Khshathrita, of the race of Cyaxares; I am king of the Medes."
F. This Martiya lied (saying): "I am Ummannish; I am king of the Susians."
G. This Citrantakhma lied (saying): "I am of the race of Cyaxares ; I am king of the Sagartians."
E. 1. hi (mi) Pirrumartis ti-
2. tukka nanri (m)u (m) Šat-
3. tarritta (m) GUL (id)
(mi) Ma-
4. kistarra-na (mi) zunkuk-
5. me (m) Mata-
6. pe-na (m) u
7. hutta-
8. mara
F. 1. hi (m) Martiya ti-
2. tukka nanri ( m ) u
3. (m) Unımanniš (m) zunkuk-me (m) A- 4. pirtippe ( m ) u hutta- 5. mara
G. 1. hi ( m ) Zišsantakma
2. titukka nanri (m)
3. u (m) GuL (id) (m) Makistar-
4. ra-na (m) zunkuk-me (m) Assáa-
5. kartiyappe ( m ) u
6. hutta-mara

[^117]h．Inscription above the figure of Vailyazdâta，the Persian Pretender．
\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 1. } 2 \text { 各 Y 位会 }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { 4. Elp YY Y Y }
\end{aligned}
$$

I．Inscrittion above the figure of Arakila，the babilonian Pretender．

J．Inscription above tie figure of Frída，the Margian Pretender．

11．This Vahyazdâta lied（saying）：＂I am Smerdis，the son of Cyrus；I rule the kingdom．＂
I．This Arakha lied（saying）：＂I am Nebuchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus；I am king of the Babylonians．＂
J．This Frâda lied（saying）：＂I am king of the Margians．＂
H．1．Int（ini）Mistat－
2．ta titukka man－
3．ri（mil）u（m）Pirtiya
4．tur Kuras－na （m）u $(\mathrm{m})$ zunkuk－ 5．me hutta－mara

J．1．hii（n）Pirrata titukka na－
2．nri（m）u（m）Markus．pe－
3．na（m）zunkuk－me hutta－niara

K．Insckiftion above the figuke of Skunka，the Scythian．

L．Inscription above the figures of Darius and his Attendants．



4．$=1$ 个

6．－－


9．$\%$ 信 $\langle$ 个


K．This is Skunka，the Scythian．
L．（Thus）saith Darius，the king：By the grace of Auramazda I made inscriptions in another fashion ．．．．．such as was not formerly，and the great ．．．．and the great ．．．． and the ．．．．and the ．．．．I made，and it was written and I ．．．．Then I sent the same inscriptions into all lands，and the peoples ．．．．
K．1．hi（m）Iškunka ak－
2．ka（ $m$ ）Šakka

L．1．（m）Tariyamauš（m）zunkuk nanri zau－2．min（an）Uramašta－na（m）u（det）tuppi－ me 3．taie－ikki hutta arriya－ma 4．appa šas̆s̆a inne enri kutta（det）ala－5．at ukku kutta $z u$（id）ukku kutta 6．（det）hiš kutta eppi hutta ku－7．tta rilik kutta （iin）u ti－8．ppa pepraka mene（det）tuppi－me ．．9．tinni（m）taiyauš marrita ati－ 10．ma（m）u muggiya（m）taššutum－pe sapiš

[^118]
## III.

## THE BABYLONIAN VERSION.


§ I. [ $I^{1}$ am Darius, the great king, the king of the lands $]{ }^{2}$, the Achaemenian, the king of kings, ${ }^{3}$ the Persian, the king of Persia.
§ II. Thus saith Darius, the king: My father is Hystaspes; the

1. § I. [a-na-ku ${ }^{1}$ ( $m$ ) Da-ri-ia-muš s̆arru rabû (u) šar mâtâti] ${ }^{2}$ ( m ) A-ba-ma-ni-iš̌-' šar [] ${ }^{3}$ šarrâni ( pl ) (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a šar (mâtu) Par-su § II. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi at-tu-u-a abu-u-a (m) UUš-ta-as-pi abu ša (m) Ǔ̌-ta-as-pi

[^119]





艮俭


father of Hystaspes [was Arsames; ${ }^{1}$ the father of Arsames ${ }^{1}$ ] was Ariyaramnes ; the father of Ariyaramnes was Teispes ; the father of Teispes was Achaemenes.
§ III. Thus saith Darius, the king: On that account [are we called Achaemenians; from] antiquity have we been noble ; from antiquity hath our race been kings.
§ IV. Thus saith Darius, the king : Eight of my race have ruled the kingdom before me; [I am the ninth. In two lines have we been kings].
2. $\left[(m) \ldots . . . .^{1}\right.$ abu ša (m) . . . . . . . . . $\left.{ }^{1}\right]$ (m) Ar-ia-ra-am-na-' abu ša (m) Ar-ia -ra-am-na-' (m) S̆i-iš-pi-iš abu ša (m) Ši-is̆-pi-iš (m) A-ha-ma-ni-is̆-' §III. (m) I)a-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-na lib-bi a-ga-a 3. [s̆umu-ni (m) A-ha-ma-ni-1s.-' šu-u² ul-tu] abu-[tu mâr]-bânûti (pl) ${ }^{3}$ a-ni-ni ul-tu abu-tu zêr-u-ni šarrâni (pl) šu-nu § IV. (m) I)a-ri-iamuš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi vıII ina libbi zêri-ia at-tu-u-a ina pa-na-tu-u-a sarru-tu i-te-ip-šu

[^120]
§ V. Thus saith Darius, the king : Under the protection of Auramazda am I king; Auramazda hath granted me the kingdom.
§ VI. Thus saith Darius, the king: These [are the provinces, which are subject unto me, and by the protection of Auramazda] became I king [of them]:-Persia, Elam, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the (Islands) in the Sea, Sapardu, Ionia, [Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, A]ria,
4. [a-na-ku ix-kam . . . . . . . . . šarrâni (pl) a-ni-ni § V. (m)] Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da-' ana-ku šarru (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da-' šarru-tu ana-ku id-dan-nu §VI. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-ga-ni-tu ${ }^{1}$ 5. [mâtâti sa ana-ku i-še-im-ma--in-ni ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da-' ana-ku] šarru-[ši-na] at-tur (mâtu) Pa-ar-su (mâtu) Elamat(kı) Bâbilu (kı) (mâtu) Aš-šur (mâtu) A-ra-bi (mâtu) Mi-ṣir ina Mar-ra-ti (mâtu)Sa-par-du (mâtu)Ia-a-ma-nu 6. [(mâtu)Ma-da-a-a (mâtu) U-ra-as̆-ṭu (mâtu) Ka-at-pa-tuk-ka (mâtu) Pa-ar-tu-u (mâtu) Za-ra-an-ga-' (mâtu) A]-ri ${ }^{2}$-e-mu (mâtu) Hulua-ri-iz-mu (mâtu) Ba-ah-tar (mâtu) Su-ug-du (mâtu) Pa-ar-u-pa-ra-e-sa-an-rua (mâtu) Gi ${ }^{3}$-mi-ri (mâtu) Sa-at-ta-gu-u

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Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Paruparaesanna, the land of the Cimmerians, Sattagydia, [Arachosia and Maka; ${ }^{1}$ three and twenty lands in all].
§ VII. [Thus] saith [Darius, the king]: These are the provinces which owe allegiance unto me; under the protection of Auramazda they became subject unto me; [they paid] tribute [unto me. Whatsoever command I laid upon them, by night or] by day, have they performed.
§ VIII. Thus saith Darius, the king : Within these lands, whosoever was zealous, him [have I protected; whosoever was hostile], him [have I destroy]ed. Under the protection
7. [(mâtu) A-ru-haa-at-ti (mâtu) . . . . ${ }^{1}$ naphar xxiII mâtâti § VII. (m) Da-ri-ia-ınuš šarru ki-a-am] i-ḳab-bi a-ga-ni-e-tu mâtâti ša ana-ku i-še-im-ma--inn-ni ina ṣilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da-' a-na a-na-ku gallâ (pl) it-tu-ru-nu man-da-at-ta 8. [ana-ku i-na-aš-šu-nu țe-e-me ša as̆-ku-un-nu-us̆-šu-nu mu-u-ši u] u-mu a-na ša-a-šu ip-pu-šu-' § VIII. (m) Da-ri-iamuš šarru ki-a-anı i-ḳab-bi ina bi-rit mâtâti a-ga-ni-e-tu amêlu pi-it-ḳ-du a-na ša-a-šu 9. [ana-ku aş-ṣur-šu amêlu ni-ik-ru a-na ša-a-s̆u ana-ku u-sa-hi]-ip-šu ${ }^{2}$ ina șilli (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da-' di-na-a-tu at-tu-u-a ina bi-rit mâtâti a-ga-ni-e-tu u-ša-az-gu-u ša la-pa-ni-ia at-tu-u-a

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of Auramazda within these lands have I established my decrees; whatsoever by me [was ordained, that have they performed].
§ 1X. Thus saith Darius the king: Auramazda hath granted me my kingdom. Auramazda was my strong helper ${ }^{1}$ until [I took] this kingdom [in possession. Under the protection of Auramazda] I took this [kingdom].
§ X. Thus saith Darius, the king: This is what I did under the protection of Auramazda after I became king. [He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, one of our race], was king here. Smerdis was the brother of this Cambyses ; they were of one father and one ${ }^{2}$ mother. [Afterwards
10. [ik-kab-ba-aš-šu-nu a-na ša-a-šu ip-pu-šu-'] §IX. (m)Da-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da šarru-tu-a id-dan-nu (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ${ }^{1}$ a-di muhhi ša s̆arru-tu a-ga-ta 11. [ana-ku aş-sa-bat ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da-' sarru]-tu a-ga-a-[ta] ana-ku aṣ-bat-šu § X. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-ga-a ša ana-ku e-pu-šu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da ar-ki ša a-na šarru a-tu-ru 12. [(m) Kam-bu-zi-ia šum-šu apil-šu ša (m) Ku-ra-aš ša zêr-u-ni] šu-[u] a-gan-nu a-na šarru it-tur ša (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia a-ga-šu-u ahu-šu (m) Bar-zi-ia ištên(en) abu-šu-nu istênit(it) ${ }^{2}$ ummu-šu-nu

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14. [









Cambyses slew that Smerdis. When] Cambyses had slain Smerdis, it was not [known unto] ${ }^{1}$ the people that Smerdis was slain. Thereupon Cambyses [went] into Egypt. [When Cambyses] had gone into Egypt, thereupon the people became evil-minded, and lies multiplied in the lands, in Persia, in Media, [and in the other provinces].
§ XI. ${ }^{3}$ [Thus saith Darius, the king: A certain man, a Magian], Gaumâta by name raised a rebellion ${ }^{4}$ from Paishiyâuvâdâ,
13. [ar-ki (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia a-na (m) Bar-zi-ia a-ga-s̆u-u id-du-uk ar-ki] ša (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia id-du-ku a-na (m) Bar-zi-ia a-na u-ku ul l${ }^{1}$ [ . . . .]-ki ša (m) Bar-zi-ia di-i-ki ar-ki (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia a-na (mâtu) Mi-ṣir 14. [il-lik ar-ki ša (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia] a-na (mâtu) Mi-şir [il] ${ }^{2}$-li-ku ar-ki u-ḳu lib-bi bi-i-šu it-taš-kan ar-ki par-ṣa-a-tu ina mâtâti lu ma-du i-mi-du ina (mâtu) Par-su ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a 15. [u ina mâtâti ša-ni-ti-ma § XI. ${ }^{3}$ (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ s̆arru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ištên(en) ${ }^{4}$ amêlu Ma-gu-s̆u] (m) Gu-ma-a-tiu šum-šu it-te-ba-a ${ }^{5}$ ul-tu (mâtu) Pi-ši'-'buu-ma-du (šadû) A-ra-ka-ad-ri-' šadû(u) šum-šu ul-tu lib-bi ûmu xıv (кам) ša (arbu) Addaru šu-u a-na
${ }^{1}$ The traces of the sign upon the rock after $\langle E\rangle \AA$ appear to read
${ }^{2}$ Traces of the sign remain upon the rock.
${ }^{3}$ To judge from the space upon the rock it is probable that the Babylonian version began a fresh section of the text with the account of Gaumâta's rebellion, as in the Persian text.
${ }^{4}$ For this restoration, cf. 11. 29 and 68.
${ }^{5}$ The verb and the two preceding words are clear upon the rock,












(from) a mountain named Arakadrish, on the fourteenth day of the month Adar. [He lied] unto [the people, saying : "I am Smerdis, the son] of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses." Then all the people revolted from Cambyses and went over unto him, even Persia, and Media, [and the other provinces. He seized the kingdom; on the ninth day of the month . .. ${ }^{1}$ he seized the kingdom of] Cambyses. Thereupon Cambyses died by his own hand.
§ XII. Thus saith Darius, the king: [The kingdom of which Gaumâta, the Magian, had dispossessed] Cambyses, that
16. [u-ku i-par-ra-aş um-ma ana-ku (m) Bar-zi-ia apil-s̆u s̆a ] (m) Ku-ra-aš aḩu ša (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia ar-ki u-ḳu gab-bi la-pa-ni (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia it-te-ik-ru-' ana mubb-hi-šu it-tal-ku-' (mâtu) Par-su (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a 17. [u mâtâti ša-ni-ti-ma šarru-tu iṣ-şa-bat ûmu ix (kam) ša (arbu) . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ šarru-tu ša] (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia iş-şa-bat ar-ki (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia mi-tu-tu ra-man-ni-šu mi-i-ti § XII. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am i-k.ab-bi 18. [šarru-u-tu ša (m) Gu-ma-a-tu Ma-gu-šu ik-ki-mu a-na] (m) Kam-bu-zi-ia šarru-u-tu a-ga-ta ul-tu ab ${ }^{2}$-bu-[tu] at-tu-nu u ša zêr-u-ni ši-i ar-ki (m) Gu-ma-a-tu a-ga-šu-u Ma-gu-šu šarru-u-tu a-na

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kingdom had belonged to us and our family from olden time. Then that Gaumâta, the Magian, [dispossessed Cambyses] of the kingdom, [even Persia, and Media, and the other provinces; . . . .] he made his own, he became king.
§ XIII. Thus saith Darius, the king: There was no man, [either Persian, or Median, or anyone] of [our] family, who took the kingdom from that Gaumâta, the Magian. Many ${ }^{2}$ people feared him; [he slew many people who] had known [the former Smerdis. For this reason did he slay them], " That none may suspect that I am not Smerdis,
19. [(m) Kam-bu-zi-ia ik-ki-im (mâtu) Par-su (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a u mâtâti ša-ni-ti-ma . . . .]ti a-na ša ra-ma-ni-šu ut-te-ir šu-u ana šarru it-tur §XIII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi man ${ }^{1}$-ma ia-a-nu 20. [(amêlu) Par-sa-a-a (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a u man-ma] ina zêr-[u-ni] ša a-na (m) Gu-ma-a-tu a-ga-šu-u Ma-gu-s̆u šarru-u-tu ik-ki-mu u-ku ma-a-du2 la-pa-ni-šu ip-ta-lah 21. [a-na u-ku ma-a-du id-duk šı (m) Bar-zi-ia mah-ru-u ${ }^{3}$ ] i-du ${ }^{\ddagger}$-u [ . . . . . . . . .] $]^{5}$ um-ma man-ma la u-ma-as-sa-nu ša la (m) Bar-zi-ia ana-ku apil-šu ša ( m ) Ku-ra-aš man-ma ul i-šal-lim-ma ina muhb-hi
${ }^{1}$ There are possibly traces of the sign * between <
${ }^{2}$ It is possible that $m a-a-d u$ in this passage is an adverb, and the phrase should be rendered "the people feared him exceedingly." In that case, for $a-n a u-k u$ ma-a-du in I. 2I, some such phrase as ana amêlûtu mâdîtu should be restored.
${ }^{3}$ In place of mahhru it is possible that agas̃u should be restored.
4. The reading of is not quite certain.
${ }^{5}$ The traces on the rock of the last three signs in the gap appear to read:














the son of Cyrus." No man succeeded [in conspiring] ${ }^{1}$ against [Gaumâta, the Magian, until I came]. Then I prayed unto Auramazda. Auramazda was my strong helper. Under the protection of Auramazda [on the tenth day of the month . . . . I, with a few men, slew] that Gaumâta, the Magian, and the nobles who were with him. In the city named Sikayauvatish in the district named Nisâya, which is in Media, [I slew him, and I took the kingdom from him. Under the protection of Auramazda I became king]; Auramazda granted me the kingdom.
22. [(m) Gu-ma-a-tu Ma-gu-šu . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ a-di muh-hi ša ana-ku al-la-ku] ar-ki ana-ku (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da uş-sal-la (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina silli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da 23. [amu $x$ (кам) ša (arbu) . . . . ana-ku ina (amêlu) ṣ̂bê (pl) i-şu-tu a-duk] (m) Gu-ma-a-tu a-ga-šu-u Ma-gu-šu u (amêlu) mâr-bânûti (pl) ša it-ti-šu ina (alu) Sik-kam ${ }^{2}$-u-ba-at-ti-' ina (mâtu) Ni-is-sa-a-a šum-šu ša ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a 24. [ina lib-bi ana-ku ad-du-uk-s̆u u šarru-u-tu a-na sa-a-šu ik-ki-im ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da ana-ku a-na šarru at-tur] (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da šarru-u-tu ana-ku id-dan-nu § XIV. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi šarru-u-tu ša la-pa-ni

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§ XIV. Thus saith Darius, the king: The kingdom, which [had been wrested] ${ }^{1}$ from [our line], I restored [to] its place. I rebuilt the temples of the gods, which that Gaumâta, the Magian, had destroyed. I [. . . .], which that Gaumâta, the Magian, had taken away from them. I restored the people to their place, even Persia, and Media, [and the other provinces. That which had been taken away I restored as it was before]. ${ }^{2}$ Under the protection of Auramazda this I did; I laboured until [I had established] our house in its place; [I . . .] under the protection
25. [zêr-u-ni . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ ina aš]-ri-šu ul-ta-az-zi-iz ana-ku e-te-pu-šu bîtâti ša ilâni ( pl ) ša ( m ) Gu-ma-a-tu a-ga-šu-u Ma-gu-šu ib-bu-lu ana-ku 26. [. . . . . . . . . ] ša (m) Gu-ma-a-tu a-ga-s̆u-u Ma-gu-s̆u i-ki-mu-s̆u-nu-tu ana-ku u-ku ina aš-ri-šu ul-ta-az-zi-iz (mâtu) Par-su (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a 27. [u mâtâti šan-ni-ti-ma . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{\text {2 }}$ ] ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da a-ga ${ }^{3}$ ana-ku e-te-pu-uš ana-ku up-te ${ }^{4}$-ki-id a-di muhhi ${ }^{\text {sha }}$ bitu at-tu-nu ina aš-ri-šu

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of Auramazda，so that this Gaumâta，the Magian，did not wrest away our house．
§ XV．［Thus saith］Darius，［the king：This is what I did after I became king］．
§ XVI．Thus saith Darius，the king：After that I had slain Gaumâta，the Magian，a certain man［named Ashina，the son of Upadaranma］，raised a rebellion in Elam and said： ＂I am king of Elam．＂Then the Elamites revolted from me，［（and）they went over unto that Ashina；he became

28．［ul－ta－az－zi－iz ．．．．．．．．．］ana－ku ina șilli ša（ilu）U－ri－mi－iz－da lib－bu－u ša （m）Cu－ma－a－tu a－ga－šu－u Ma－gu－šu bitu at－tu－nu la iš－šu－u §XV．（m）Da－ri－ia－muš 29．［šarru ki－a－am i－kab－bi a－ga－a s̆a ana－ku e－pu－s̆u ar－ki ša a－na šarru a－tu－ru］ §XVI．（ıи）I）a－ri－ia－mus̆ šarru ki－a－am i－kab－bi al－la ša ana－ku a－du－ku a－na（m）Gu－ ma－a－tu（amêlu）Ma－gu－šu ar－ki ištên（en）${ }^{1}$ amêlu 30．［（m）A－ši－na šum－šu apil－šu ša （m）．．．．．．．．．．${ }^{2}$ ］šu－u ina Elamat（kı）it－ba－am－ma i－kab－bi um－ma ana－ku šar （mâtu）Elamat（kı）ar－ki（amêlu）Elamî（Kı．pl）it－te－ik－ru－＇la－pa－ni－ia

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命《纪







king in Elam．Then a certain man，a Babylonian］named Nidintu－Bêl，the son of Aniri＇，raised a rebellion in Babylon，and he lied unto the people，saying：＂I am ［Nebuchadnezzar，the son of Nabonidus．＂Then all the people of Babylon］went over［unto］Nidintu－Bêl，（and） Babylon revolted．He seized on the kingdom of Babylon．
§ XVII．Thus saith Darius，the king ：［Then sent I an army unto Elam；that Ashina was brought bound unto me］，and I slew him．
§ XVIII．Thus saith Darius，the king：Then did I march to

31．［a－na mubbi（m）A－ši－na a－ga－šu－u it－tal－ku－＇šu－u ana šarru ina（mâtu）Elamat（ki） it－tur ar－ki ištên（en）amêlu Bâbila（kI）－a－a］（m）Ni－din－ti－（ilu）Bêl šum－šu apil－šu ša （m）A－ni－ri－＇suu－u ina Bâbili（kı）it－ba－am－ma ana u－ku i－par－ra－aṣ um－ma ana－ku 32．［（m．ilu）Nabû－kudurri－uṣur apil－šu ša（m．ilu）Nabû－na＇id ar－ki u－ku gab－bi ša Bâbili（ KI ）ana mubhi（m）］Ni－din－ti－（ilu）Bêl it－tal－ku Bâbilu（kI）it－te－ki－ir šarru－u－tu Bâbili（Kı）iş－şa－bat §XVII．（m）Da－ri－ia－muš šarru ki－a－am i－kab－bi 33．［ar－ki ana－ku u－ku al－ta－par ana（mâtu）Elamat（kı）（m）A－ši－na a－ga－súu－u ．．．．．．．．．．］u ana－ku ad－du－uk－šu § XVIII．（m）Da－ri－ia－muš šarru ki－a－am i－kab－bi ar－ki ana－ku ana Bâbilu（ki）al－lik－ma a－na mubhi





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Babylon, against [that Nidintu-Bêl, who said: "I am Nebuchadnezzar." The] army of Nidintu-Bêl upon [. . . .]. . . . . . . . the Tigris they filled. Then I [. . . .] the army [. . . .]. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda we crossed the Tigris ; (and) I smote [the army of Nidintu-Bêl. On] the twenty-sixth day of the month Kislev [we joined] battle.
§ XIX. Thus saith [Darius, the king]: Then did I march against Babylon ; (but) before I came unto Babylon, in a city named Zazannu on the bank of the Euphrates [that Nidintu-Bêl],
34. [(m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu) Bêl a-ga-šu-u ša i-kab-bu um-ma ana-ku (m ilu) Naba-kudurriuşur $^{1} u$ u]-ku ša (m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu) Bêl ina mub̧hi di-[ . . . . $]^{2}$ u-šu-uz-zu a-ba ku-ul-lu-' (nâru) Diglat ma-li ar-ki ana-ku u-ḳu 35. [. . . . . . . . . ]-ma (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli sa (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da (nâru) Di-ig-lat ni-te-bi-ir ad-du-ku 36. [a-na $u$-ḳu ša (m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu) Bêl] ûmu xxvı (Кam) ša (arḩu) Kislimu și-el-tu [ni-te-pu-uš § XIX. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš sarru ki]-a-am i-kab-bi ar-ki ana-ku ana Bâbilu (kı) at-ta-lak ana Bâbilu (kı) la ka-ša-du ina (alu) Za-za-an-nu šum-šu ša kišâd (nâru) Purattu

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who said "I am Nebuchadnezzar," [came ${ }^{1}$ with an army to offer battle]. Then we joined battle. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda [I smote] the army of Nidintu-Bêl. [. . . .]. On the [second] day [of the month Tebet] we joined battle.
§ XX. Thus saith Darius, the king: Then did that Nidintu-Bêl [flee away] with a few men upon [horses from] that [place to] Babylon. [Thereupon I] marched [to] Babylon. Under the protection of Auramazda I took Babylon and I captured Nidintu-Bêl. Then [I slew Nidintu-Bêl] in Babylon.
37. [(m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu)Bêl a-ga-su-u] ša [i]-kab-bu um-ma ana-ku (m.ilu) Nabû-kudurri-ușur [it-ti u-ḳu it-ta-lak ${ }^{1}$ ana e-piš tahaza] ar-ki și-el-tu ni-te-pu-šu (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da u-ku ša (m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu)Bêl 38. [ad-du-ku . . . . . . . . .] ṣal-ti ni-te-pu-s̆u ûmu [II (Kam) ša (arhu) Ṭebêtu] § XX. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ar-ki (m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu) Bêl a-ga-šu-u ina (amêlu) ṣâbê (pl) i-ṣu-tu e-li-ia ša 39. [sisê (pl) ul-tu aš-ri] a-ga-a [in]-na-[bit a-na] Bâb[ilu (kı) ar-ki ana-ku a-na Bâb]ilu(kI) at-ta-'ak ina șilli s̆a (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da Bâbilu ( k 1 ) aş-sa-bat u (m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu) Bêl ass-sa-bat ar-ki ana-ku ina Bâbilu (kI) a-na

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41. [










§ XXI. [Thus saith] Darius, [the king: While] I was in Babylon, these were the lands which revolted from me: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, [Egypt, Parthia, Margiana], Sattagydia, (and) the land of the Cimme[rians].
§ XXII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: A certain man] named Martiya, the son of Cicikhrish, who dwelt in the city of Kuganakâ in Persia, raised a rebellion in Elam, and [said unto the people: "I am Um]mannish, king of Elam."
40. [(m) Ni-din-tu-(ilu)Bêl ad-du-uk] §XXI. (m) Da-ri- a -muš [šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ki-i] ša ana-ku ina Bâbilu (kı) a-tu-ru an-na-a-tu mâtâti ša ik-ki-ra-'in-ni (mâtu) Par-su (mâtu) Elamat (Kı) (mâtu) Ma-rla-a-a (mâtu) Aš-s̆ur (kı) 41. [(mâtu) Mi-şir (mâtu) Pa-ar-tu-u (mâtu) Mar-gu-'] (nâtu) Sa-at-ta-gu-u (mâtu)Gi-mi-[ri § XXII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ištên (en) amêlu] (m) Mar-ti-ia šum-šu apil-šu ša (m)Si-in-ša-ah-ri-iš ina (alu) Ku-gu-na-ak-ka ina (mâtu) Par-su a-šil) šu-u ina (mâtu) E-lam-mat it-ba-am-ma 42. [a-na u-ku i-kab-bi um-ma ana-ku (m) Im]-ma-ni-e-šu ${ }^{1}$ šar (mâtu) Elamat (kı)
 raloú (u) ina ra-ma-ni-súu-nu id-du-ku-šu § XX1II. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ sarru

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[. . . .]. Then they seized that Martiya, who was over them as leader, (and) of their own accord they slew him.
§ XXIII. [Thus saith] Darius, the king: A certain Median named] Phraortes revolted, and said unto the people]: "I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares." Then did all the Medians who were in the palace ${ }^{1}$ [revolt] from me [and go over unto that Phraortes]; he [became] king in Media. [ ${ }^{2}$ The Persian and the Median army which was with me was not numerous]. ${ }^{3}$ Then sent I the army unto Media. A Persian named Hydarnes, my servant, [I made their leader,
43. [ki-a-am i-kab-bi ištên(en) anêlu (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a] (m) Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-iš [šum-šu šu-u it-ba-am-ma a-na u-ḳu i-kab-bi] um-ma ana-ku (m) Ȟa-s̆a-at-ri-it-ti zêru ša (m) U-ma-ku-ištar ar-ki u-ku ša (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ma-la ina bîti ${ }^{1}$ la-pâni-ia 44. [it-te-ik-ru-' ana muh-hi (m) Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-iš a-ga-šu-u it-tal-ku-'] su-u šarru ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a [it-tur² u-ku ša (mâtu)Par-su u (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ša it-ti-ia . . . . . . . . . .]-du ${ }^{3}$ ar-ki ana-ku u-ku al-ta-par ana (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a (m) U-mi-da-ar-na-' sum-šu (amêlu) gal-la-a (mâtu) Par-sa-a-a a-na

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saying: "Go, smite the] Me[dian h]ost [which doth not acknowledge me." Then H]ydarnes marched forth with the army. When he was come unto Media, at a city named Marush, which is in Media, [he fought with] the Medes. He [who was leader of the Medes withstood not (the assault). Auramazda was my strong helper]; under the protection of Auramazda my army smote those rebels. On the twenty-seventh day of the month Tebet they fought
45. [ . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ um-ma a-lik-ma a-na u]-ķu s̆a (mâtu) Ma-[da-a-a ša la i-šim-mu-'-in-ni du-u-ku-šu-nu-u-tu ar-ki (m) U]-mi-da-ar-na-' it-ti u-ķu it-ta-lak ana (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ana ka-ša-du ina (alu) Ma-ru-' šum-šu ša ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a 46. [i-te-pu-us̆ ṣal-tun itti (mâtu)] Ma-da-a-a a-ga-šu-u [ša ina muh-bi (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a rabû(u) ul . . . . . . . . . (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu] ina ṣilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da u-ḳu at-tu-u-a id-du-ku ana ni-ik-ru-tu a-ga-šu-nu amu xxvıI (KAM) ša (arhu) Țebêtu și-el-tu i-te-ip-šu-' 47. [ar-ki u-ku at-tu-u-a a-ma-tu la e-pu-šu] ina (alu) Hearana-ba-nu ša ina (nâtu) Ma-da-a-a ina lib-bi i-dag-ga-lu-' pa-ni-ia a-di mubhi ša ana-ku al-la-ku ana (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a

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the battle. [Then my army did naught]; at Kampada, which is in Media, did they await me, until I came unto Media.
§XXIV. [Thus saith Darius, the king: An Armen]ian [named Dâdarshish, my servant, I sent into Armenia], saying : "Smite the rebel host which doth not acknowledge me." [Then Dâdarshish went forth. When he was come unto Armenia, the rebels assembled and advanced] a[gainst] Dâdarshish to give battle. Then Dâdarshish fought with them in a city in Armenia named Zûzu. [Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda my army smote those rebels. On the eighth day of the
48. [§ XXIV. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi (m) Da-da-ar-s̆u šu-unl-s̆u (amêlu) gal-la-a (mâtu) U-ra]-aš-ṭa-a-a [a-na (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu al-ta-par] um-ma e-mu-ku ${ }^{1}$ ni-ik-ru-tu ša la i-šim-mu-'-in-ni du-u-ku-šu-nu-u-tu 49. [ar-ki (m) Da-da-ar-šu it-ta-lak ana (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu ana ka-ša-du ni-ik-ru-tu ip-huu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku-'] a-na [tar-ṣi] (m) I)a-da-ar-šu a-na e-pi-šu ta-ḩa-za ar-ki (m) Da-da-ar-šu ṣa-al-tum itti-šu-nu i-te-pu-uš ina (alu) Zu-u-zu su-um-su i-na (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu.

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51. [






month Iyyar they fought the battle.] Then the rebels assembled [for the second time], ${ }^{1}$ and they advanced against Dâdarshish to give him battle. Then they joined battle at a city in Armenia named Tigra. Auramazda was my strong helper ; under the protection of Auramazda my army smote those rebels. On the eighteenth day of the month Iyyar they fough]t the battle. They slew five hundred and forty-six of them, and five hundred and twenty did
50. [(ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da u-ḳu at-tu-u-a id-du-ku ana ni-ik-ru-tu a-ga-šu-nu ûmu viII (KAM) s̆a (arḩu) Airu și-el-tu i-te-ip-šu-' . . . . . . . . . . $\left.{ }^{1}\right]$ ar-ki ni-ik-ru-tu ip-ḩu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku-' a-na tar-ṣi (m) Da-da-ar-suu a-na e-pi-šu ta-ha-za ar-ki i-te-ip-šu-' șal-tum 51. [ina (alu) . . . . . . . . . šu-um-šu i-na (mâtu) U-ra-ăs-ṭu (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da u-ku at-tu-u-a id-du-ku ana ni-ik-ru-tu a-ga-šu-nu ûmu xvin (KAM) sa (arb̧u) Airu i-te-puJ-šu ṣal-ti id-du=ku-' ina lib-bi-s̆u-nu dxlvı u bal-ṭu-tu uṣ-şab-bi-tu-nu DXX ar-ki ina ša-ni-tum barrâni ${ }^{2}$ ni-ik-ru-u-tu
${ }^{1}$ The traces of the signs upon the rock before appear to read

- of which the traces of the first are very faint and uncertain. We should expect the reading reduplicated if the reading is correct, may possibly be regarded as an ideographic form of this expression. The signs are certain.
${ }^{2}$ The sign upon the rock appears to be simply not fore take the phrase ina sa-ni-tum hुarrâni as "in another campaign," i.e., "again."












they take alive. Then again did the rebels [assemble, and they advanced against Dâdarshish to give him battle. At a city in Armenia named Uyamâ they joined battle. Auramazda was my strong hepler]; under the protection of Auramazda my army smote the rebels. On the ninth day of the month Sivan ${ }^{1}$ they fought the battle. [. . . . ${ }^{2}$ Then Dâdarshish did naught; he waited for me until I came into Media].
§ XXV. Thus saith Darius, the king: A Persian named Vaumisa, my servant [I sent] into Armenia, [saying, "Smite the rebel host, which doth not acknowledge me." Then

52. [ip-bu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku-' a-na tar-şi (m) Da-da-ar-s̆u a-na e-pi-šu ta-ba-za ar-ki i-te-ip-šu-' șal-tum ina (alu) . . . . . . . . . suru-um-šu i-na (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu] ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da u-ḳu at-tu-u-a ana ni-ik-ru-tu id-du-ku ûmu ix (Kam) saa (arbu) Simânu ${ }^{1}$ i-te-ip-šu ṣa-al-tu. 53. [ . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{2}$ ar-ki (m) Da-da-ar-šu a-ma-tu la e-pu-uš i-dag-ga-lu pa-ni-ia a-di muhbhi ša ana-ku al-laku ana (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a] § XXV. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi (m) U-mi-is-si šu-um-šu (amêlu) gal-la-a (mâtu) Par-sa-a-a a-na (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu

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Vaumisa went forth. When] he was come [unto Armenia] the rebels assembled and advanced against Vaumisa to give him battle. Then they joined battle [at a place in Assyria named Izzila. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda my army smote the rebels. On the fifteenth day of the month Tebet they fought the batt]le. They slew two thousand and four and twenty of them. The rebels assembled a second time and advanced against ${ }^{1}$ Vaumisa to give him battle. [Then they joined battle at
54. [al-ta-par um-ma e-mu-ku ni-ik-ru-tu ša la $i$-šim-mu-'in-ni du-u-ku-šu-nu-u-tu ar-ki (m) U-mi-is-si it-ta-lak ana (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu ana] ka-ša-du ni-ik-ru-tu ip-hu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku-' a-na tar-şi (m) U-mi-is-su a-na epêş(eš) ta-ha-za ar-ki i-te-ip-šu ṣa-al-tu 55. [ina (mâtu) . . . . . . . . . ina (mâtu) As̆-s̆ur (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da u-ḳu at-tu-u-a ana ni-ik-ru-tu id-du-ku amu xv (кам) ša (arḩu) Ṭebêtu i-te-ip-šu ṣal]-ti id-du-ku ina lib-bi-šu-nu umxxıv ina ša-ni-ti barrâni ni-ik-ru-tu ip-hu-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku-' a-na tar-și (m) $\mathrm{U}^{1}$-mi-is-si a-na e-piš² tahaza

1 The text inscribed upon a fragment of a copy of the Babylonian version, which was found by Dr. Koldewey at Babylon, begins at this point. The fragment, which is numbered BE 3627 , gives portions of $11.55-58$ and $69-72$ of the text, and has been published by Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen, pl. 9, pp. 24 ff . The signs in the text which have been restored from this duplicate are placed within parentheses (); variant readings are cited in the footnotes.
${ }^{2} \mathrm{BE} 3627 \%$ 每 K, e-pi-su.














(Autiyâra, a district in Armenia). Auramazda was my strong helper; ${ }^{1}$ under the protection of Auramazda (my army) smote the rebels. On the thirtieth day of the month Iyyar they fought the battle. They slew two thousand and forty and five of them, and they took one thousand five
56. [ar-ki i-te-ip-s̆u șa-al-tu ina ( (mâtu) U-ti-ia-a-ri ina (mâtu) U-ra-aš-ṭu) (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ${ }^{1}$ ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ri-mi-iz-da u-(ku at-tu-u-a)] a-na ni-ik-ru-tu ${ }^{2}$ id-du-ku âmu xxx (kam) ša (arhu) Airu i-te-ip-šu șal-tum ${ }^{3}$ id-du-ku4 ina lib-bi-šu-nu nmxlev u bal-tu-tu uş-sab-bi-tu m ${ }^{5}$ Dlvini ${ }^{6}$ 57. [ar-ki (m) U-mi-is-si a-ma-tu la e-(pu-uš i-dag-ga-lu pa-ni-ia a-di mubhi) ša ana-ku ana (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a al-(li-ki §XXVI. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am) i-kab-bi ar-ki ana-ku ul-tu Bâbilui ((kI) u-ṣa-am $\left.{ }^{8}\right)$ ]-ma at-ta-lak a-na (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a a-na ka-ša-di a-na (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ina (alu) Ku-un-du-ur šu-um-šu ${ }^{9}$ ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a

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hundred and eight and fifty alive. [Then Vaumisa (did) naught ; (he waited for me until) I (came) unto Media.
§ XXVI. (Thus) saith (Darius, the king): Then (I went forth) from Babylon and came into Media. When I was come unto Media, in a city in Media named Kundurush, that (Phraortes), who said "(I am king of Media)," came (against me with) an army to offer (battle. Then we joined battle)] Auramazda was my strong helper; ${ }^{1}$ under the protection of Auramazda [I smote] the host of Phraortes. [On the twenty-fifth day of the month . . . . we fought the battle. Then Phraortes] fled ${ }^{2}$ [with] a few horsemen and came into a district in Media named Ragâ. Then did I [send]
58. [ina lib-bi a-na (muhh-hुi-ia (m) Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-iš) a-ga-šu-u ša i-kab-bu um-ma a-(na-ku šar (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a it-ti) u-ḳu it-ta-lak a-na e-pi-šu (ta-hुa-za ar-ki ni-te-pu-uš ṣa-al-tu)] (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ${ }^{1}$ ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da u-k.u ša (m) Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-is̆ 59. [ad-du-ku đ̂mu xxv (kam) s̆a (arḩu) . . . . ni-te-pu-us̆ ṣa-al-tu ar-ki (m) Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-iš a-ga-šu-u it-ti u-ku] i-şi e-li-ia ša sisé (pl) ihhlı. ${ }^{2}$-ma il-lik-ma ina (mâtu) Ra-ga.' šu-um-šu ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ar-ki a-na-ku u-ḳu

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61.




 the army [against them. That Phraortes was taken and brought unto me. I cut off his nose, and his ears, and his tongue, and I put out his eyes, ${ }^{1}$ and] he stood ${ }^{2}$ [in fetters] in my gate; ${ }^{3}$ all the people beheld him. Then did I crucify him in Ecbatana, [and all the nobles who were with him I imprisoned in Ecbatana]. ${ }^{4}$
§ XXVII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: A man named Citrantakhma, a Sagartian, ${ }^{5}$ revolted, and] thus he spake unto the people: "I am king, of the family of Cyaxares." Then [sent] I [forth] a Median [and a Persian] army. [A
60. [al-ta-par ana muh-hi-šu-nu (m) Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-iš a-ga-šu-u . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ iz-za-[az]² ina bâbi ${ }^{3}$-ia u-ku gab-bi im-ma-ru-uš ar-ki ina za-ki-pi ina (alu) A-ga-ma-ta-nu al-ta-kan-s̆u 61. [(amêlu) mâr-bânûti (pl) ša it-ti-s̆u gab-bi . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{4}$ ina (alu) A-ga-ma-ta-nu . . ......... §XXVII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi istên (en) amêlu (m) Ši-it-ra-an-taḩ-ma šum-šu (amêlu. mâtu) Sa-ga-ar-ta-a-a ${ }^{5}$ it-ba-am-ma] i-kab-bi a-na u-ku um-ma ana-ku sarru zêru ša (m) U-ma-ku-iš-tar ar-ki ana-ku u-ku (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a

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Median named Takhmaspâda, my servant, I sent as their leader, saying: "Go, smite the rebel host, which doth not acknowledge me." Then Takhmaspâda went forth with the army. He fought a battle with Citrantakhma, and Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda [my army smote the rebels, and they seized Citrantakhma and brought him unto me. I cut off his nose, and his ears, and I put out his eyes, ${ }^{1}$ and he stood in fetters in my gate; all the people] ${ }^{2}$ beheld him. Then did I crucify him in Arbela. All the dead and the living [. . . . .].
> 62. [u (mâtu) Par-su al-ta-par (m) . . . . . . . . . šu-um-šu (amêlu) gal-la-a (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ina kakkadi-šu-nu al-ta-par um-ma a-lik-ma du-u-ku a-na u-ku ni-ik-ru-tu ša la i-šim-mu-'-in-ni ar-ki (m) . . . . . . . . . . it-ta-lak it-ti u-ḳu şal]-tum it-ti (m) Ši-it-ra-an-tah-ma i-pu-uš-ma (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da 63. [u-ku at-tu-u-a a-na ni-ik-ru-tu id-du-ku . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ iz-za-az ina babi-ia u-ku gab-bi ${ }^{2}$ ] im-ma-ru-uš ar-ki ina (alu) Ar-ba ${ }^{3}$-'il ina za-ki-pi aš-ku*-un-šu naphar ${ }^{3}$ di-i-ki u bal-ṭu

[^138]64. [. . . .














§ XXVIII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: This is what was done by me in Media.
§ XXIX. [Thus saith Darius, the king: The Parthians and the Hyrcanians revolted] from me, and they sided with Phraortes. Hystaspes, my father, was dwelling in Parthia, and [the people forsook ${ }^{3} \mathrm{him}$ and revolted. Then Hystaspes marched forth with the troops which had remained faithful. At a city in Parthia named Vishpauzâtish he fought a battle with the rebels]. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda
64. ana-ku ina (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a e-pu-šu § XXIX. ( m ) Da-ri-ia-muš Šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi (mâtu) Pa-ar-tu-u u (mâtu)........... ik-ki-ra-']-in-ni-ma it-ti (m) Pa-ar-1-mar-ti-iš iz-zi-zuº-u (m) Uš-ta-as-pi abu-u-a ina (mâtu) Pa-ar-tu-u a-sib-ma 65. [u-ḳu . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{3}$ it-te-ik-rul' ar-ki (m) Uš-ta-as-pi it-ta-lak it-ti u-ḳu . . . . . . . . . . ina (alu) . . . . . . . . . susum-šuu ina (mâtu) Pa-ar-tu-u şal-tum itti ni-ik-ru-tu i-te-put-uš] (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da (m) Uš-ta-as-pi id-duk a-na ni-ik-ru-tu a-ga-su-nu ûmu xxul (kam)

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Hystaspes smote those rebels. On the twenty-second day [of the month Adar they fought the battle . . . . . ${ }^{3}$ ].
§XXX. [Thus saith Darius, the king: Then] did I send ${ }^{2}$ [a Persian army unto Hystaspes from Ragâ], and, after the army had reached Hystaspes, Hystaspes [led forth] that host. [At a city in Parthia named Patigrabanâ he fought a battle with the rebels. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda Hystaspes smote those rebels. On the first day of the month . . . .] they fought the battle. He slew six ${ }^{3}$ thousand five hundred and seventy of them, and four thousand one hundred and ninety and two he took alive.
66. [ša (arhูu) Addaru i-te-ip-šu sal-tum . . . . . . . . . 1 § XXX. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ar-ki ana-ku u-kıı ša (mâtu) Par-su ana muhbi (m) Uš-ta-as-pi ul-tu (mâtu) Ra-ga-'| aš-pur-ma² ar-ki ša u-ku ana muhhi (m) Uš-ta-as-pi ik-šu-du (m) Uš-ta-as-pi u-ku šu-a-tim 67. [. . . . . . . . . ina (alu) . . . . . . . . . susum-suu i:ia (mâtu) Pa-ar-tu-u șal-tum itti ni-ik-ru-tu i-te-pu-uš (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da (m) Uš-ta-as-pi id-duk a-na ni-ik-ru-tu a-ga-s̆u-nu ûmu ı (Kam) s̆a (arḩu) . . . . .] i-te-ip-šu ṣal-tum id-du-ku ina lib-bi-šu-nu vı ${ }^{3}$ MDLXX u bal-ṭu-tu uş-sab-bit ivmexcir

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§XXXI. 「Thus saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia].
SXXXII. Thus saith Darius, the king: The province named Margiana revolted against me, and a certain man. [a Margian]. named Frâda |they made their leader. ${ }^{1}$ Then sent 1 against him ${ }^{5}$ a Persian named Dâdarshish, my servant. the governor of Bactria, saying: "Go, smite that rele.l host which doth not acknowledge] me." Then Dádarshish went forth with the army, and he fought a battle: with the Margians. Auramazda was my strong helper: (under
68. [§. XXXI. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš sarru ki-a-am i-kabs-bi ar-ki mâtu a-an at-tu-u-a ta-tur ${ }^{1}$ a-ga-a sia ana-ku ina (mattu) Pa-ar-tu-u e-pu-s̆u]. 太. XXXII. (m) Da-ri-ia-ınuš şarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi (mâtu) Mar-gu-' šu-um-šu tak-əّki-ra-an-ni-ma ištên(en) ${ }^{3}$ amêlu (m) Pa-ra-da- su-um-su 69. [(amêlu) Mar-gu-ma-a-a . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{\text {t }}$ arki (m) Da-da-ar-šu šu-um-šu (amêlu) gal-la-a (amêlu) Par-sa-a a (amêlu) pahâtu ša (mâtu) Ba-aḩ-tar ; al-ta-par um-ma a-lik-ma du-u-ku a-na u-ḳu ni-ik-ru-tu sa la i-sim-mu]--in-ni a•-ki (m) Da-da-ar-šu it-ta-lak it-ti u-ku i-te-ip-siu ṣal-tum itti (mâtu) Mar-ğu-ma-a-a

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 $\Rightarrow$






 the protection) of Auramazda my army smote (those) rebels. (On the) twenty-third (day) of the month Kislev they fought the battle]. He slew fifty and five ${ }^{2}$ thousand two hundred and . . .. -three ${ }^{3}$ of them, and six thousand five hundred and seventy and two ${ }^{4}$ he took alive.
$\$$ XXXIII. [Thus saith] Darius, the king: |Then was the province (mine). This is what I did in Bactria.
$\$$ XXXIV. Thus saith Darius, the king: A certain man (named) Vahyazdâta dwelt |(in a city) named (Târ)]avâ in a district in Persia named Yautiyâ. ${ }^{6}$ He rebelled in Persia, and he
70. [(ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da is-si dan-nu (ina șilli) ${ }^{1}$ sa (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da u-ḳu at-tu-u-a id-du-ku a-na ni-ik-ru-tu (a-ga-s̆u-nu ùmu) xxmı(k.1M) s̆a (arbu) Kislimu i-te-ip-su
 SXXXIII. (m) Da-ri-a-mus şarru 71. [ki-a-am i-kah-hi ar-ki mâtu (a-na at tu-u-a tia)-turi a-ga-a sa ana-ku ina (mâtu) Ba-aly-tar (1-pu-su S. XXXIV. (m) |)a-ri-ia-mus sarru ki-a-am i-kah-bi istén(en) amélu (m) U-mi if-daatulu (sum su ina (alu) Ta-ar)]-ma* ina (matu) l-u-ti-ia" su-um-su ina (matu) Par su a-si-ib) su-u it-ha-ant-ma ina (mátu) Par su i-kab-bi a-na u-ku

I See above p. 179, n. 1 .
So the traces of the figure read upon the rock; BE 3627 reads 《<
${ }^{3}$ The exact traces upon the rock read YI Y- SikIYY!.
 hundred and seventy-. . ."
${ }^{5}$ It is possible that the verb should be restored as ta-rat.
${ }^{6}$ The name is clear upon the rock.











spake unto the people, [saying: "I am (Smerdis, the son of Cyr)us." Then the Persian people, as many as (in the palaces (?) of the city) ${ }^{1}$. . . . revolted from me (and went over unto him). He became king] in Persia.
§ XXXV. Thus saith Darius, the king: Then [did I send out] a small ${ }^{2}$ Persian army [. . . A Persian named Artavardiya,
72. [um-ma ana-ku ((m) Bar-zi-ia apil-s̆u ša (mi) Ku)-ra-as̆ ar-ki u-ku ša (mâtu) Par-su ma-la (ina al-lu-ka-' s̆a ali i)- . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ it-te-ik-ru- ${ }^{-1}$ la-pa-ni-ia (a-na muh-hi-šu it-tal-ku)-' šu-u ana šarru] ina (mâtu) Par-su [it-tur] § XXXV. (m) I)a-ri-ia-muš sarru ki-a-am i-ķab-bi ar-ki ana-ku u-ķu ša (mâtu) Par-su-mi (?) i-şi² 73. [......... (m) Ar-ta-mar-zi-ia šu-um-šu (amêlu) gal-la-a (amêlu) l’ar-sa-a-a " . . . . . . . . . ] u-ku ša (mâtu) P'ar-su it-ti-ia it-tal-ku-' ana (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a ar-ki (m) Ar-ta-mar-zi-ia it-ti u-ḳu

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my servant, I made their leader. The rest of ] the Persian army went with me into Media. Then [went] Artavardiya with the army [unto Persia. When he was come unto Persia, at a city in Persia named Rakhâ, that Vahyazdâta, who said "I am Smerdis," advanced with the army against] Artavardiya to give him battle. They fought the battle. Auramazda was my strong helper: under the protection of Auramazda [my host smote the army of Vahyazdatta. On the twelfth day of the month lyyar they fought the battle]. Then that Vahyazdata lled ${ }^{3}$ with a few horsemen and came unto [Paishiyâuvâda.
74. [ana (mâtu) Par-su it-ta-lak ana (mâtu) Par-su ana ka-ša-du ina (alu) šu-um-šu ina (mâtu) Par-su (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tu a-ga-s̆u-u ša i-kab-bu um-ma ana-ku (m) Bar-zi-ia it-ti u-ku it-ta-lak a-na tar-si] (m) Ar-ta-mar-zi ${ }^{1}$ a-na e-piš tahaza i-te-ip-šu sa-al-tum (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da 75. [u-ku at-tu-u-a id-du-ku a-na u-ku ša (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-ti âmu xıI (KAm) ša (arhu) Airu i-te-ip-šu şal-tum] ar-ki (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tum² a-ga-šu-u it-ti u-ḳu i-şi e-li-ia ša sise (pl) ih ${ }^{3}$-lik-ma a-na

2 Sic.
${ }^{8}$ The sign is quite clear upon the rock.














Thence went he forth with an army against Artavardiya to give him battle. At a mountain named Paraga they fought the battle|. Auramazda was my strong helper: under the protection of Auramazda my host smote the army of Vahyazdâta. [On the fifth day of the month . . . . they fought the battle. And that Vahyazdâta and the nobles who were with him were captured].
§ XXXVI. Thus saith Darius, the king: Then did I cruci[fy] that Vahyazdâta and all the nobles who were with him [in a city in Persia named Uvâdaicaya].
76. |(matu) Pisi -huma-du il-lik ul-tu lit-bi su-u it-fi u-ku it-ta-lak a-na tar-si (iii) Ar-ta-mar-zi-ia a-na e-piś taļaza ina (sadû). šadù (u) sum-šu i-te-ip-su sal-tum (ilu)] U-ra-ma-az-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli sa (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da u-ḳu at-tu u-a id-du-ku a-na u-ku ša (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-ti 77. [ûmu v (kAM) ša (arhu) i-tc-ip-šu şal-tum (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tu a-ga-šu-u u (amêlu) mâr-bânâti(pl) ša it-ti-su ṣu-ub-bu-tu-' ${ }^{1}$ ] § XXXVI. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-ami i-kab-bi ar-ki ana-ku (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tu a-ga-šu-u u (amêlu) mâr-bânûti (pl) ša it-ti-šu gab-bi ina za-ki-pi

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SXXVII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: This is what] I did in Persia.
§XXVIII. Thus saith Darius, the king: That Vahyazdâta, who said ["I am Smerdis," sent an army unto Arachosia. He appointed a certain man to be their leader ${ }^{1}$ against] a Persian [named Vivanna, my servant], the governor of Arachosia, saying: "Go, smite Vivâna and [the host which acknowledgeth king Darius!" Then the army which Vahyazdâta had sent marched against Vivâna to give him battle. At the city of Kâpishakâ]nish they
78. [ina(alu) . . . . . . . . . šu-um-šu ina (mâtu) Par-su al-ta-kan § XXXVII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš şarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-ga-a s̆a] a-na-ku ina (mâtu) Par-su e-pu-s̆u § XXXVIII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tu a-ga-šu-u ša ik-bu-u 79. [um-ma ana-ku (m) Bar-zi-ia u-ku iš-pu-ur a-na (mâtu) A-ru-ba-at-ti $\ldots . . \omega^{1}{ }^{1}$ a-na tar-si (m) U-mi-ma-na-' šu-um-šu (amêlu) gal-la-a] (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a (amêlu) pahâtu ša (mâtu) A-ru-ḩa-at-ti um-ma al-ka-ma (mı) U-mi-ma-na-' du-ku-' u a-na

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fought the battle. Auramazda was my strong helper. Under the protection of Auramazda [my] army [smote the rebel host. On the thirteenth day of the month Tebet they fought the battle. Then the rebels assembled a second time and advanced against Vivâna to give him battle. In a district named Gandutava ${ }^{2}$ ] he fought a battle with [the
80. [u-ku ša a-na (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru i-šim-mu-' ar-ki u-ku ša (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tum iš-pu-ru illi-ku' a-na tar-şi (m) U-mi-ma-na-' a-na e-piš tahaza ina (alu)..... ${ }^{1}$ ]-na-i-te-ip-šu șa-al-tu (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da is-si dann-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da u-ķu 81. [at-tu-u-a id-du-ku a-na u-ku ni-ik-ru-tu ûmu xıu (kam) ša (arļu) Țehêtu i-te-ip-su sal-tum ar-ki ina sa-ni-tum harràni ni-ik-ru-u-tu ip-hu-ru-nim-ma it-tal-ku-' a-na tar-ṣi (m) LT-mi-ma-na' a-na e-piš tahaza ina (mâtu) . . . . .]-ti-[ . .]² itti [nikrútu](pl) ${ }^{3}$ i-te-ip-šu şal-tum (ilu) U-ra-mi-iz-da is-si dan-nu ina ssilli ša (ilu) $\mathrm{C}^{\top}$-ra-ma-az-da

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rebels]. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda [my army smote the rebel host. On the seventh day of the month Adar they fought the battle.... . ${ }^{1}$ ]. Then that man, who was commander of the army which Vahyazdâta had sent, [fled] with a few [horse]men [and came unto a city in Arachosia named Arshâdâ. Then Vivâna marched with the army after] him. There he captured and slew him, and he slew the nobles who were with him. All the dead and the living of the host [....].
82. [u-ku at-tu-u-a id-du-ku a-na u-ku ni-ik-ru-tu t̂mu vı1 (кam) ša (arbu) Addaru i-te-ip-s̆u sal-tum . . ......... ${ }^{1}$ ] ar-ki amêlu a-ga-s̆u-u ša ina eli u-ku ra-bu-u s̆a (m) U-mi-iz-da-a-tum iš-pu-ru it-ti u-kuu i-şi e-li-ia 83. [s̆a sisê (pl) ih-lik-ma a-na (alu) ..... .... šu-um-s̆u i-na (mâtu) A-ru-ha-at-ti il-lik ar-ki (m) U-mi-ma-na-' it-ti u-ḳu ...........] ša-a-[šu] ² ina [lib-bi] ${ }^{3}$ iş-ṣa-bat-su ${ }^{4}$ id-duk-šu u (amêlu). mâr-bânâti (pl) ša itti-šu id-duk naphar di-i-ku u bal-ṭu ša u-ḳu

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§ XXXIX. [Thus saith Darius, the king: Then was the province mine. This is what I] did in Arachosia.
§ XL. Thus saith Darius, the king: While I [was] in Persia and in Media, [the Babylonians revolted from me a second time. ${ }^{2}$ A certain man named Arakha, an Armenian, the son of Haldita, rebelled at a city named Dubâla in Babylonia, and the]re [he lied unto the peo]ple, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus." Then did the Babylonian people [revolt] from me, [and they went over
84. [.......... §XXXIX. (m) Da-ri-ia-mus̆ šarru ki-a-am i-kah-bi ar-ki (mâtu) a-na at-tu-u-a ta-tur ${ }^{1}$ a-ga-a ša ana-ku] ina (mâtu) A-ru-ba-at-ti e-pu-šu §̌ XL. (m) Da-ri-iamuš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-di muhhi ša a-na-ku ina (mâtu) Par-su u (mâtu) Ma-da-a-a 85. [a-tu-ru . . . . . . . . . (amêlu) Bâbilâ (pl) it-te-ik-ru-' la-pa-ni-ia ištên (en) amêlu (m) A-ra-ḩu šu-um-šu (amêlu) U-ra-aš-ta-a-a apil-šu ša (m) . . . . . . . . . . šu-u ina (alu) . . . . . . . . . šu-um-šu ina Bâbilu(kı) it-ba-am-ma ina lib]-bi [ana u u -ku i-par-ra-aṣ um-ma a-na-ku (m. ilu) Nabû-kudurri-uṣur apil-šu ša (m. ilu) Nabû-na'id ar-ki u-ḳu ša Bâhilu (kı) la-pa-ni-ia

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to that Arakha. He seized Babylon, he became king in Babylon. Then did I send an army unto Babylon]. A Persian [named Vindafranâ], my servant, I appointed their leader, saying: "Go, smite the rebel host [of Babylon, which doth not acknowledge me!" Then Vindafranâ marched with the army unto Babylon. Auramazda was my strong helper; under the protection of Auramazda V]in[dafra]nâ ${ }^{4}$ smote the rebel host of Babylon and ${ }^{5}$ took them captive. The people who were among
86. [it-te-ik-ru-' a-na muhhhi (m) A-ra-ḩu a-ga-šu-u it-tal-ku-' Bâbilu (kı) iş-şa-bat šu-u ana šarru ina Bâbilu(kı) it-tur ar-ki ana-ku u-ku al-ta-par ana Bâbilu (kı) (m) . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ šum-šu (amêlu)]gal-la-a (mâtu) Par-sa-a-a ina [ḳak]ḳadi ${ }^{2}$-suu-nu al-ta-par um-ma a-lik-ma du-u-ku a-na u-ku ni-ik-ru-tu 87. [ša Bâbilu (kı) ša la i-šim-mu'-in-ni ar-ki ( $m$ ) . . . . . . ... ${ }^{3}$ it-ti u-ku a-na Bâbilu (kı) it-ta-lak (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da is-si dan-nu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da (m) . . ]-in-[ . . . . ]tna-' u-ḳu ša Bâbilu (kı) ni-ik-ru-tu id-duk u" uṣ-şab-bit-su-nu-tu u-ḳu ša ina lib-bi-šu-nu

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them [. . . . On the twenty-second day of the month . . . . that Arakha, who said "I am Nebuchadnezzar," and] his $[. . .]^{1}$ nobles who were with him, were captured. Then made I a decree, saying: "[Let] Arakha and the nobles [who were with him be crucified in Babylon!"]
§ XLI. Thus saith Darius, the king: This is what I did in Babylon.
§ XLII. Thus saith Darius, the king: This is what I [have done;
88. [ . . . . . . . . . amu xxıı(клм) ša (arhu) . . . . . (m)A-ra-hu a-ga-šu-u ša i-kab-bu um-ma ana-ku (m. ilu) Nabî-kudurri-uṣur u (amêlu) mâr-bânûti](pl)-suu [.....] ${ }^{1}$ (pl) ša itti-šu ṣu-ub-bu-tu-' ar-ki a-na-ku țe-e-me al-ta-kan um-ma (m) A-ra-huu u (amêlu) mâr-bânôti (pl) 89. [ša itti-šu ina za-ki-pi ina Bábilu(kI) . . . . . . . . .] § XLI. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-ga-a ša ana-ku ina Bâbilu(kı) e-pu-šu § XLII. (m) Da-ri-ja-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-ga-a ša ana-ku

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under the protection of Auramazda have I acted. After I became king, I . . . . , and I . . . .] them. Then their nine kings I captured. One named Gaumâta, the Magian ; he lied, and said, ["I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." He made Persia to revolt. An Elamite named Ashina; he lied and said, "I am king of Elam." He] made Elam to revolt. A Babylonian named Nidintu-Bêl ; he lied and said, "I am Nebuchadnezzar, [the son of Nabonidus." He
90. [e-pu-šu ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da ana-ku e-pu-šu ar-ki ša a-na šarru a-tu-ru . . . . . . . . . ]-šu-nu-tu ar-ki ix šarrâni (pl)-šu-nu uş-ṣab-bit ( m ) Gu-ma-a-tu šu-um-šu (amêlu) Ma-gu-šu šu-u up-tar-ri-iş i-kab-hi um-ma 91. [ana-ku (m) Bar-zi-ia apil-šu ša (m) Ku-ras̆ šu-u (mâtu) Par-su ut-tak-kir (m) A-ši-na šu-um-šu (amêlu) Elamú(Kı) šu-u up-tar-ri-iş i-kab-lbi um-ma ana-ku šar (mâtu) Elamat(Kı) šu-u] (mâtu) Elamat(KI) ut-tak ${ }^{1}$-kir (m)Ni-din-tum-(ilu) Bêl šu-um-šu (amêlu) Bâbila(ki)-a-a šu-u up-tar-ri-iṣ i-kab-bi um-ma ana-ku (m. ilu) Nabô-kudurri-uşur

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made Babylon to revolt．A Persian named Martiya ；he lied and said，＂I am Ummannish，king of Elam．＂］He made［Elam］to revolt．A Mede named Phraortes；he lied and said，＂I am Khshathrita，［of the race of Cyaxares．＂ He made Media to revolt．A Sagartian named Citran－ takhma；he lied and said，＂I am king of Sagartia，of the race of］Cyaxares．＂He made Sagartia to revolt．A Margian named Frâda；The lied and said，＂I am king of

92．［apil－šu s̆a（m．ilu）Nabî－na＇id s̆u－u Bâbilu（ki）ut－tak－kir（m）Mar－ti－ia šu－um－šu （amêlu）Par－sa－a－a šu－u up－tar－ri－iṣ i－kab－bi um－ma ana－ku（m）Im－ma－nie－su šar （mâtu）Elamat（kı）suu－u（mâlu）Elamat（ki）］ut－tak－kir（m）Pa－ar¹－mar－ti－iš šu－um－šu （mâtu）Ma－da－a－a šu－u up－tar－ri－iṣ i－kab－bi um－ma ana－ku（m）Ha－ša－at－ri－tum² 93．［zêru ša（m）C゙－ma－ku－iš－tar šu－u（mâtu）Ma－da－a－a ut－tak－kir（m）Ši－it－ra－an－tah̆－ma šu－um－šu（amêlu．nâtu）Sa－ga－ar－ta－a－a šu－u up－tar－ri－iṣ i－kab－bi um－ma ana－ku šar （mâtu）Sa－ga－ar－ta－a－a zêru ša］（m）U－ma－ku－iš－tar šu－u（amêlu．mâtu）Sa ${ }^{3}$－ga ${ }^{3}$－ar－ta－a－a ut－tak－kir（m）Pa－ra－da－＇šum－šu（amêlu）Mar－gu－ma－a－a šu－u

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Margiana." He made Margiana to revolt. A Persian named Vahyazdâta; he lied and said,] "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus." He made Persia to revolt. An Armenian named Arakha; he [lied and said, "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus." He made Babylon to revolt].
§XLIII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: These are the nine kings, dead] and living, which my army took captive or slew in these [wars].

[^152]${ }^{1}$ This reading is clear upon the rock.

- The missing phrase should probably be restored in some such way as [a-ga-su-nu ix atrrini (pl) di-i-ki] "bul-fu, uth.













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§ XLIV．［Thus saith Darius，the king：As to these provinces which revolted，lies made them revolt，so that they deceived］ the people．Then Auramazda delivered them into my hands．According to［my will did I unto them］．
§ XLV．［Thus saith Darius，the king：Thou who mayest be king hereafter，beware of lies］；the man who lieth shalt thou utterly destroy，if thou sayest［＂thereby shall my land remain whole＂］．
§ XLVI．［Thus saith Darius，the king：This is what I have done， under the protection of Auramazda have I always acted． Thou who shalt hereafter read ．．．．what］I have done，

96．［ ．．．．］a－ga－ni－e－tu § XLIV．［（m）Da－ri－ia－muš šarru ki－a－am i－kab－bi a－ga－ni－e－tu mâtâti ša ik－ki－ra－＇par－ş－a－tu ．．．．．．．．．a］－na u－ḳu ar－ki（ilu）U－ra－ma－az－da a－na kâtâ（n）－ia in－da－na－aš－šu－nu－tu 97．lib－bu－u ša a－na［ ．．．．．．．．．§ XLV．（m）Da－ ri－ia－muš s̆arru ki－a－am i－kab－bi ．．．．．．．．．］－ka－ad amêlu ša u－par－ra－şi lu ma－du ša－al－s̆u ki－i ta－k．ab－bu 98．um－ma［．．．．．．．．．§ XLVI．（m）Da－ri－ia－muš šarru ki－a－aın i－ḳab－bi a－ga－a ša ana－ku e－pu－šu ina șilli ša（ilu）U－ra－ma－az－da ．．．． ］i－su－［u ša］${ }^{1}$ ana－ku e－pu－šu ša－ṭa－ri ša ina（abnu）narî saṭ－ri ki－pa－an－ni

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the inscription which is engraved upon the tablet, shalt believe me; [thou shalt not hold it to be] lies.
§ XLVII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: I call Auramazda to witness that it is true and not lies], all that I have done [..]...
§ XLVIII. Thus saith Darius, the king: Under the protection of Auramazda [there is also] much that I have done [which is not graven in this inscription ; on this account it hath not been inscribed lest he who shall read this inscription hereafter] should not believe all that I have done, but should say, "They are lies."
99. [a-na [par]-sa-a-tum [. . . . . . . .] ] § XLVII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi . . . . . . . . ${ }^{1}$ ma-la e-pu-šu ina [ . .] ${ }^{2}$ mU-AN-NA ${ }^{3}$ § XIVIII. (min) Da-ri-iamuš šarru ki-a-am i-ķab-tsi ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-maz ${ }^{1}$-da $100 .[\ldots .]^{5}$ ma-a-da ša e-pu-[šu . . . . . . . . . . $]^{n}$ ma-la e-pu-šu la i-ki-ip-pi [i]-kab-bi um-ma par-sa-a-tum sii-na § XLIX. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am
${ }^{1}$ The traces of the sign before suggest those of $-\mathbf{N}^{-}$.
${ }^{2}$ One sign is here wanting.
${ }^{3}$ Cf. 11.101 and 103.

- Sic. It is probable that the name is thus written as the graver was cramped for room at the end of the line.
${ }^{5}$ Two signs are here wanting.
${ }^{6}$ It is possille that in place of ma-la e-pu-su we should restore the plorase as [.... i-kab-lii u]m-ma la e-pu-su, i.e., "lest he who should read this inscription hereafter should say 'He hath not done it,' and should not helieve it, and should say "They are lies."








§ XLIX. Thus saith Darius, the king: Among kings who [ruled] before [me it was not done, as it hath al]ways [been done by me through the favour of Auramazda].
§ L. Thus saith Darius, the king: In accordance with that which I have done and . . . . [shalt] thou [ . . . . ] the people. [If thou shalt not conceal this edict, but shalt publish it to the people then may Auramazda be thy friend, may] thy seed be numerous, (and) may [thy] days be long. But if thou shalt conceal these words . . [ . . . may Auramazda slay thee and may thy seed be destroyed].
§ LI. [Thus saith Darius, the king: This is what I have done; al]ways under the protection of Auramaz[da] have I acted.

101. i-kab-bi ina šarrâni (pl) s̆a ina pa-na-tu-u-[a . . . . . . . . .] MU-AN-NA § I.. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am [i]-kab-bi at-ta ki-i pi ša ana-ku e-pu-šu u ka-bit-tum a-na 102. u-ku ki-[ . . . . . . . . . ] zêru-ka [li] ²-mi-id ûmê (pl)-[ka] li-ri-ku-' u ki-i dib-bi an-nu-tu ta-pi-is-si-nu ana u-ki-iš3 ${ }^{3}$ 103. la [ . . . . . . . . § LI. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-ga-a ša ana-ku e-pu-šu . . . . . . . . . ] MU-AN-NA ${ }^{+}$ina șilli ša (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-[da] e-te-pu-uš (ilu) U-ra-ma-az-da is-si dan-nu u ilâni (pl)

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Auramazda was my strong helper, and the other gods, [all that there are].
§ LII. [Thus saith Darius, the king: On this account Auramazda brought me help, and the other gods, all that there are, because I was not wicked, nor was I a liar], nor did I commit any [wrong], neither I, nor my race. According to the laws I ruled; unto the prisoner (?) and the freed man have I done no [injustice. Whosoever helped my house, him have I favoured; whosoever was hostile, him have I destroyed].
§ LIII. Thus saith [Dari]us, [the king]: Whosoever thou (mayest
104. sa-nu-tum [ . . . . . . . . . § LII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš s̆arru ki-a-am i-kab-bi . . . . . ..... ] a-na [ . . ]-ni-[ . . ] ${ }^{1}$ mim-ma la e-pu-s̆u ul a-na-ku ul zêri-ia ina di-na-a-tu a-siig.gu a-na lik (?)-tu u muški-nu 105. [ . . $]^{²}$-ki (?) ${ }^{3}$ ul e-pu-[uš. . . . . § LIII. (nı) Da-ri-ia]-mus̆ [şarru] ki-a-am i-kab-bi man-nu at-ta šarru ša be-la-a ar-ki-ia amêlu ša u-par-ra-ṣu u (amêlu) uD-1³-A-Ni
${ }^{1}$ One sign only is wanting, both before and after $\mathbb{N}$ : the traces of the former sugsest YY, rather than $\sim \mathcal{*}^{*}$, though the latter is possible; the traces of the latter read

There is room here for one sign.
3 The sign is possibly 0 .

be), O king, who shalt rule after me, the man who is a liar, or a rebel (?), (or) is not [ . . . do thou destroy !]
§ LIV. [Thus saith Darius, the king: Thou who shalt hereafter see this tablet, which I have written, and these sculptures, destroy them not, but preserve them so long as thou livest!] If thou shalt behold this tablet and these sculptures, [and shalt not destroy them, but shalt preserve them so long as thou livest, then may Auramazda be] thy [friend], and thy [race] may he make numerous, and thy days [may he pro]long, and may Auramazda increase (them),
106. la ta-[......... § LIV. (m) Da-ri-aa-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi ..... ] ki-i narû šu-a-tu tam-ma-ri u sal-ma-a-nu a-gan-nu-tu 107. [ . . . . ]-ka u na-[ . . ]¹-ka



[^155]109. 〈キ [ [








and what[soever thou doest may he make fortunate. But if thou shalt behold this tablet and these sculptures, and shalt destroy them, and..]. . shalt not make offerings . . . . , then may Auramazda curse (thee), and [may thy] race [come to naught, and whatsoever thou doest may Auramazda destroy !]
§ LV. [Thus saith Darius, the king: These are] the men [.... who] were with me, until I [slew] that Gaumâta, the Magian, [who said "I am Smerdis"; then these men helped me as my followers. Intaphernes], the son of Vayaspâra, a Persian; Otanes, the son of Thukhra, a Persian ; Gobryas, the son of Mard[onius, a Persian ;
109. u zêru-[ka . . . . . §V. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi a-gan-nu-tu] (amêlu)sâbé (pl) $[\ldots]^{1}(p l)[\ldots .]^{2}$ it-ti-ia i-tu-ru- ${ }^{2}$ a-di muhbi sa a-na-ku a-na (m) (Gu-ma-a-ti a-ga-šu-u 110. (amêlu) Ma-gu-s̆u a-[du ${ }^{3}$-ku ša i-ķab-bu um-ma ana-ku
(m) Bar-zi-ia (m) . . . . J-šu šu-um-šu apil-šu ša (m) Mi-is ${ }^{4}$-pa-ru-' (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a
(m)U-mi-it-ta-na-' šum-šu apil-šu ša (m)Su-uhb-ra-' (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a

[^156]
#      <br>   

Hydarnes, the son of Bagâbigna, a Persian]; Megabyzus, the son of Dâduhya, a Persian ; Ardumanish, the son of Vahauka, a Persian [.... ${ }^{5}$ whosoever thou (mayest be), O king, who shalt rule after me, ${ }^{6}$. . . . $]^{7}$ these men shalt thou cherish (?) exceedingly!
111. (m) (̌u-ha-ru-' šu-um-šu apil-s̆u ša (m) Mar-d[u- . . . . ssu-um-š̆u (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a (mi) . . . . šu-um-šu apil-s̆u ša (m). . . . (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a] (m) Ma-ga-bu-di-šu ${ }^{1}$ šu-um-šu apil-šu sa (m) Za-'- tu-'-a² (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a (m) A-ar-di-ma-ni-iš šum-šu apil-šu ša (m) U-ma ${ }^{3}$-ah'-ku 112. (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a $\left[{ }^{5} \ldots{ }^{6} \ldots \ldots\right]^{7}$ (amêlu)ṣâbê(pl) a-gan-nu-tu lu ma-a-du su-ud-di-id
${ }^{1}$ The name is quite clear upon the rock.
2 The sign $Y$ is quite clear upon the rock at the end of the name.
*) The sign is हY, not E .
${ }^{4}$ This sign is much weathered and is not quite certain ; the traces suggest more than A
${ }^{5}$ The sign following $Y Y$ upon the rock appears to be $Y$, the traces of this and
 which is possibly Babylunian version mentioned another name which was not included in the Persian Text and the Susian Version.
${ }^{6}$ The address to the future king should possibly be restored from 1. 105 as man-nu at-ta šarru s̆a be-la-a ar-ki-ia.
${ }^{7}$ A trace of the sign before is still visible upon the rock; it reads

## EPIGRAPHS.

B. ${ }^{1}$ Inscription below the prostrate figure of Gaumâta,
the Magian.

C. Inscription beiow tile figure of Ashina, the Susian Pretender.

B. This is Gaumatta, the Magian, who lied, saying: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus."
C. This is Ashina, who lied, saying : "I am king of Elam."
B. 1. a-ga-a (m) Gu-ma-a-tum
2. (amêlu) Ma-gu-šu ša ip-ru-ṣu um-ma
3. a-na-ku (m) Bar-zi-ia mâr (m) Ku-ras̆
C. 1. a-ga-a (m) A-sil-na
2. ša ip-ru-ṣu um-ma
3. ana-ku šar (mâtu) Elamat(kı)

[^157]D. Inscription below the figure of Nidintu-Bêl, the Babylonian Pretender.




E. Inscription below tile figure of Phraortes, tile Median Pretender.




F. Inscriftion below the figure of Martiya, tile Susian Pretender.



D. This is Nidintu-Bêl, who lied, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus."
E. This is Phraortes, who lied, saying: "I am Khshathrita, of the race of Cyaxares."
F. This is Martiya, who lied, saying: "I am Ummannish, king of Elam."
1). 1. a-ga-a (m) Ni-din-tum-(ilu) Bêl 2. ša ip-ru-ṣu um-ma ana-ku 3. (m, ilu) Nabu-kudurri-uşur 4. apil-šu ša (m. ilu) Nabî-na'id

$\begin{array}{lll}\text { E. 1. } a-g a-a ~(m) ~ P a-a r-m a r-t i-i s ̌ s ~ & \text { 2. ša ip-ru-ṣu um-ma ana-ku } & \text { 3. (m) Hga-sa-at-ri-e-ti }\end{array}$
4. zêru sa (m) U-ma-ku-iš-tar
F. 1. a-ga-a (m) Mar-ti-ia 2. s̆a ip-rul-ṣu um-ma a-na-ku $\quad$ 3. (m) Im-ma-ni-e-šu šar (mâtu) Elamat(kı)

## G. Inscription below the figure of Citrantakhma, the Sagartian Pretender.


H. Inscription below the figlre of Vahyazdâta, the Persian Pretender.



I. Inscription below the figure of Arakha, the Babylonian Pretender.



G. This is Citrantakhma, who lied, saying: "I am of the race of Cyaxares."
H. This is Vahyazdata, who lied, saying: "I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus."
I. This is Arakha, who lied, saying: "I am Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonidus."
G. 1. a-ga-a ( m ) Ši-tir-an-tab-mu
2. ša ip-ru-șu um-ma ana-kı
3. zêru ša (m) U-ma-ku-is-tar
H. 1. a.ga-a (m) U-mi-iz-[da-a] $]^{1}$ tu
2. ša ip-ru-ṣu um-ma ana-ku
3. (m) Bar-zi-ia mâr (m) Ku-ra-aş
I. 1. a-ga-a (m) A-ra-hu
2. ša ip-ru-şu um-ma a-na-ku
3. (m. ilu) Naba-kudurri-usur apil (m. ilu) Nabd-na'id

[^158]J. Inscription below the figure of Frâda, the Margian Pretender.

J. This is Frâda, who lied, saying : "I am king in Margiana."
J. 1. a-ga-a (m.) Pa-ra-da-'
2. ša ip-ru-ṣu um-ma
3. ana-ku šarru ina (mâtu) Mar-gu-'
${ }^{1}$ The sign is - , not $>$, on the rock.
2 The episraph, corresponding to K of the Persian Text and the Susian Version and referring to Skunkha, is not represented in the Babylonian Version.

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    ${ }^{3}$ Jour. Geog. Soc., Vol. IX., 1839, p. 11 z.
    ${ }^{4}$ See Hudson, Vol. II., p. 6.
    ${ }^{5}$ See Morelli, Dissertazione, p. 64 ff. Venice, 1803.

    - Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, Vol. I., p. 187. Paris, 1748.

    7 Voyage dans 1 I Empire Othomane, etc., III., p. 24. Paris, An. 9.
    ${ }^{8}$ For the statements of other early travellers besides those qu:oted by Hoeck, see De Sacy, Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, Parts, 1793, p. 217 ff.
    ${ }^{9}$ Journal dTw Voyage, Paris, 1809, p. 83.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire, p. 131. London, 1813.
    2 Personal Narrative of a Journey from India to England, 2nd ed., Vol. II., p. 80 ff. London, 1827.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ Travels, Vol. II., p. 159 ff.
    ${ }^{2}$ This distinguished scholar was born at Chadlington Park, Oxfordshire, on April Inth, 1810, and he died on March 5th, 1895, aged eighty-four years.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ Archaeolugia, Vol. XXXIV., 1852, p. 74 f.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the Greek text, see C.I.G., III., No. 4674 ; compare also Geiger and Kuhn, Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Bd. II., p. 504 f., Strassburg, 1904.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1}$ For other descriptions of this monolith, see Oskar Mann, Globus, Bd. LXXXIII., No. 21, June, 1903, p. 328 ; Williams Jackson, Persia, Past and Present, p. 210 ff., New York, 1906,

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ For authorities on the subject, see above, p. xvii, note $\mathbf{1}$.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Journ. Royal Asiulic Society, Vol. X. and Appendix to Vol. XII. The other principal editions of the text are: Kossowicz, Inscriptiones PalueoPersicae Achaemenidarum, St. Petersburg, 1872; Spiegel, Dit Altpersischen Keilinschriften, Leipzig, 188ı ; Weissbach and Bang, Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften, Leipzig, 1893. Among translations of portions of the text may be mentioned those by F. Müller in the Wiener Zeitschrift, 1887, 1897, etc. ; Gray, American Journal of Philology, 1900, etc. ; and for important philological discussions, see Bartholomae in Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, I., p. 152 ff., 1895; Foy, Zeits. fiur vergleichende Sprachforschungen, Bd. XXXV., pp. I ff., 1897; Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg, 1904; Justi, Indogermanische Forschungen, Bd. XVII. (Anzeiger), p. $84 \mathrm{ff}, 1905$; Williams Jackson, Persia, Past and Present; p. 196 ff., etc.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ See Norris, Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XV., 1855 ; Oppert, Le Peuple et la Langue des Medes, Paris, 1879; and the notices of works by Haug, Westergaard, and other scholars, enumerated by Weissbach in the Introduction to his Die Achïmenideninschriften zweiter Art, Leipzig, 1890, which contains the most recent edition of the Susian text. See also Weissbach, Abh. Sïchs. Gesell. IViss., XIV., p. 73 Iff , 1894 ; Jensen, Zeits. fïr Assyr., Bd. VI, p. 167 ff , 1891 ; Foy, Zeits. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell., Bd. LII., pp. 119 ff., 564 ff., 1898 , Bd. LIV., p. 34iff., 1900 ; and Hüsing, Mitteil. Vorderas. Gesell., 1898, No. 7 (for his five-vowel system of transliteration). The discovery of Neo-Susian, or Neo-Elamite, texts at Susa by de Morgan, and their publication by Scheil in the Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse (Textes Elamites-Anzanites, 1901, etc.) has supplied much new material for study. For discussions of the light which these texts throw upon the development of the language, see especially Hüsing's series of papers, with some criticisms by Bork, in the Orientalistische Literatur-Zeituns, Vols. I.-III., V., VII., VIII., etc. It may be noted that Weissbach's four-vowel system of transliteration, with certain modifications, has been employed in the present work.
    ${ }^{2}$ See Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIV., 185x ; and Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vol. III., 1870, pl. 39 f.; De Saulcy, Journal Asiatique, Sér. V., tom. III., p. 93 ff., 1854 ; Oppert, Expedition en Mésopotamie, tom. II., p. 198 ff., Paris, 1859 ; Schrader, Zeits. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell., Bd. XXVI., p. 339 ff., 1872 ; and Bezold, Die Achamenideninschriften, Leipzig, 1882, which contains the most recent edition of the Babylonian version. For a fragment of a duplicate copy of the Babylonian version, see Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen, p. 24 ff., Leipzig, 1903.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ For discussions on the Old Persian Calendar and on the chronology of the period, see especially Oppert, Actes du huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes, tom. II., Leiden, 189r, p. 25 If.; Justi, Zeit. Deutsch. Morg. Gesell., Bd. LI., 1897, p. 233 ff. ; Weissbach, ibid., p. 509 ff. ; Oppert, op. cit., Bd. LII., 1898, p. 259 ff.; and Prášek, Beitrüge zur alten Geschichte (Kilio), Bd. I., I901, p. 26 ff.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Prásek, op. cit., p. 4 If.; see also his Geschichte der Meder und Perser, Bd. I., p. 260 ff., 1906.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a full discussion of the name of this god, see Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg, 1895, p. 7 ff.
    ${ }^{2}$ See especially Gustav Meyer, Indogermanische Forschungen, Bd. I., p. 326 ff., and the authorities quoted by Gray in American Journ. of Philology, Vol. XXI., p. 3 .
    ${ }^{3}$ The references given in this and the following paragraphs are to the Persian Text. For the corresponding sections in the Susian and Babylonian Versions, see the Comparative Table on p. xxx ff .

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ For their names, see p. 75 f.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is always written on the rock as $\langle$, never as $\rangle$.
    ${ }_{2}$ The text as printed represents the signs which are now visible upon the rock, restorations being placed within square brackets. Some signs have entirely disappeared since Sir Henry Rawlinson made his copies ; on the other hand it has been found possible to make out many passages which have been previously omitted.
    ${ }^{3}$ Short spaces are left blank on the rock between the separate sections of the text.

[^15]:    1 The sign TYY does not follow upon the rock.
    ${ }_{2}$ There is room for this restoration on the eroded surface of the rock.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading $\frac{2}{\sqrt{Y}}$ in place of $z y y$ is certain both here and in Epigraph A.

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign $\overline{Y Y Y}$ does not follow $\frac{\bar{Y}}{\overline{Y Y}}$ upon the rock.
    ${ }^{2}$ See above, the Introduction.

[^18]:    1 The reading Auramasdam[aiy] ima, in place of Auramazda mana, is certain.
    ${ }^{2}$ For the Middle Voice form hu[ma]dârayai $[y]$ cf. hamatakhsaiy, Col. I. 11. 68,70 . The traces of the first three characters of the word are 〈领; they are quite clear upon the rock.
    ${ }^{8}$ The reading taumâyâ hauvam is certain.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a discussion of the Persian months and their Babylonian equivalents, sie the Introduction.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the end of line 48 .

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ The graver has omitted $\frac{\sqrt{Y y}}{}$ from the rock by mistake.
    $z$ The reading $r$ - here is certain.

[^22]:    1 The reading $\overline{Y Y}$ is certain.

[^23]:     the preceding words is very uncertain.

[^24]:    1 of *ry and $\langle=\langle$ only very slight traces now remain.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the beginning of 1.80 .

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading of the sign $Y\rangle$ is certain.
    ${ }_{3}^{3}$ The traces of the last character in the line read
    ${ }^{3}$ Thus and not $=$ yry

[^27]:    1 The end of the sign is preserved.
    2 The sign is much broken on the rock.
    s There is room for this restoration on the rock.

[^28]:    Cot. II., 1. § XX. thâtiy Dârayavauš khšăyathiya [pasâ]va Naditabira ha- 2. dâ kannnaibiš asabâribiš ab[iy Bâb]irum asíya- 3. va pasâva adam Bâbirum ašíyavam [vašnầ Auramazd]âha utâ Bả-- 4. birum agarbâyam utâ avam Naditab[iram agarbâya]m pasâva ava- 5. mı Naditabiram adam Bâbirauv avâja[nam § XXI. thâtiy 1)]ârayavaus kh-

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ The beginning of the sign 〈 $\overline{Y y}$ and the end of the sign are preserved.
    ${ }^{8}$ The name of Egypt is restored from the Susian version.
    ${ }^{8}$ The first half of the sign is visible.
    4 The division-wedge is written at the end of 1.9 .

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ The beginning of the sign is visible．
    ${ }^{3}$ The signs $\overline{\text { YY }}$ YY are visible upon the rock．

[^31]:    1 There is no gap here; the clause is not introduced by pasîva, the proper name Diddarsis being the first word in the sentence. All the signs in the line are clear upon the rock.

    2 The name was composed of 5 , possibly 6 , signs, of which only the last is visible. In the Susian version the name is written Zuzza, in the Babylonian version Zûzu.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign is $Y<$ not ${ }^{-1} Y Y$ ；see also 11．39， 44 and 48 ．Thus the form Armaniya does not occur in Old Persian．
    ${ }^{2}$ A natural break occurs in the rock on each side of the sign 《\％．
    ${ }^{8}$ The division－wedge is written at the end of 1.35 ．
    ${ }^{4}$＇I＇he numeral is restored from the Susian version．The wedges Yy，are visible on the rock，

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign is $Y\left\langle=\right.$, not ${ }^{*} Y y$.

[^34]:    1 The first and last signs in the name are visible, and there is room for two signs in the break in the middle of the word. The word is conjecturally restored from the Susian version, in which the name of the place is given as Izzitu.

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the end of 1.55 .
    2 The sign is written at the end of 1.58 .

[^36]:    1 The reading of the sign -1 at the beginning of the word is quite certain.
    2 There appears to be room on the rock for two additional signs at the end of the word. It is probable that we should restore the two signs 1 if $\mathrm{r}<$, which would give the locative form Arminiya[iy].

[^37]:    ${ }_{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the beginning of 1.69 .
    ${ }^{3}$ The slight traces of this sign are very uncertain.
    
    
    ${ }^{5}$ The reading avaparâ in place of avadá is certain.

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading nipadiy, " on foot" ( $f$. Col. III., 1. $7^{2}$ ), in place of tyaipatiy is certain.
    ${ }_{2}$ The traces of the last sign are not quite clear upon the rock, but are probably those of $z y y$. The reading agarbayatâ, which is employed elsewhere in an active sense, is not possible. In agarbi $[t a]$ we have the passive form.
    ${ }^{3}$ The copula uta does not occur here upon the rock.
    ${ }^{4}$ The Old Persian for "tongue" is not izâva (Spiegel), nor hizuva (Weissbach), but harbâna, from a rt. srbh, of. sorbeo, poф'ćw, Lith. srebiit. Of the signs $=y$ and $=1$ traces are preserved upon the rock ; the remaining signs are clear.
    ${ }^{5}$ The word is restored from the traces in 1.89 . The sign $\overline{<}$ is quite clear and $\overline{\Pi_{7}}$ is fairly certain. The traces of the first sign appear to be those of $\langle\bar{Y}\rangle$ or $\langle\xi\rangle$, of which the former gives ucsa as the word for "eye" in Old Persian ; cf. Sansk. aksa.

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading pasâvasion in place of pasâva adam is certain.

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign is clear on the rock．
    ${ }^{2}$ The word $t y a m$ does not occur here on the rock．

[^41]:    86. â Citra(n)takhmâ Auramazdâmaiy upastâm abara vašnâ Auramaz- 87. dâha kâra hya manâ avam kâram tyam hamitriyam aja utâ C- 88. itra(n)takhmam agarlâya annya alijy mâm pasâvǎ̌aiy adaum utâ $n$. 89. âham utâ gaušâ frâjanam utášaiy [u]cšam avajam duvarayâ- 90. maiy basta adâriy haruvašim kâra a[va]i[na] pasâvas̆im Arbairâyâ
[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign is written at the beginning of 1.87 .
    ${ }^{2}$ See above, p. 36, n. 5 .

[^43]:    1 The suggested restoration is certain；traces of the signs and TY are visible on the rock．
    ${ }_{2}$ The restoration of the verb is certain；traces of the signs YYY and $\langle Y$ are still visible．

    3 The traces of the sign following $\langle\ll$ are probably those of $=1$ ．There is room for one more sign in this word．

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ Traces of the sign FYy are visible; there is room for the suggested restoration in the gap.
    ${ }^{2}$ There is room for this restoration, as three or four signs are wanting in the gap.
    " The name is restored from the Susian version, but the restored signs $\frac{7}{Y Y}$ and
     wanting.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ The third sign of the word is rather worn; it is possibly $\langle\overline{Y Y}$, not $\overline{\mathrm{Y}}$.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ The preceding eight signs occur at the beginning of 1.6 , not at the end of 1.5 .
    ${ }^{2}$ On the rock the sign is $-Y Y$, which is probably a mistake of the engraver for FYy.
    ${ }^{3}$ The sign is written at the end of 1.8 , not at the beginning of 1.9 .
    ${ }^{4}$ The sign is written at the end of 1.9 , not at the beginning of 1 . ro.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ The second sign of the word is $Y\langle$, not $\overline{\text { K }}$, and the fourth sign is $\overline{Y Y}$, not =yyy. Thus the word hasititiáa as a synonym for hamitriya, "rebellious," does not exist in Old Persian. There is no doubt as to the reading of the signs upon the rock.
    ${ }^{2}$ The sign is $\xi Y$, not $=Y Y Y$.

[^48]:    ${ }^{2}$ The sign is Il , not $=\mathrm{yy}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The numeral is written $\langle\boldsymbol{\langle}\rangle$, not $\langle\boldsymbol{\langle} \boldsymbol{Y}$.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the beginning of 1.26, not at the end of line 25 .

[^50]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the beginning of 1.34 , not at the end of 1.35 .

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ The signs＝yy TYY＜are written at the beginning of 1．40，not at the end of 1． 39.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ The numeral is $Y Y$, not $Y Y$ Yy.
    ${ }^{2}$ The sign $\overline{Y Y Y}$ is written at the beginning of 1.50 , not at the end of 1.49 .

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ A whole line, from this point down to the word khšâyathiya in 1.5 t, has been omitted by mistake in previous publications of the text.
    ${ }^{2}$ The engraver has written $=y$ in place of $=y$ by mistake.

[^54]:    62. y upastâm aliara víšnâ Auramazdâha kâra hya manâ avam kâram tya- $63 . \mathrm{m}$ hamitriyam aja vasiy Anâınakahya mâhyâ XIII raucabiś thakatâ âha a- 64. vathâŝâm hamaranam kartam § XLVI. thâtiy Dârayavauš khşâyathiya patiy h- 65. yâparam hamitriyâ ha(n)gmatâ paraitâ patiš Vivânam hamaranam cartana- 66. iy Ga(n)dutava nâmâ dahyâuš avadâ hamaranam akunava Auramazdâma-
[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ The numeral is written $\langle\mathbf{Y}\rangle$, not $\langle\mathbf{Y} Y$.

[^56]:    1 The engraver has written in place of $=1$ by mistake.
    ${ }^{3}$ Traces of the sign $\langle\rangle\rangle$ are visible.
    ${ }^{3}$ The reading of amutha in place of muthista is certain.

[^57]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written at the end of line 74 .

[^58]:    1 The engraver has omitted the sign FYY by mistake.
    ${ }^{2}$ The division-wedge is written at the end of 1.77.
    $s$ The reading of [k]ârahyâ in place of udapatatâ is certain.
    4 is written at the beginning of 1.81 .
    ${ }^{5}$ The last syllable of the word is $Y<\Sigma$, not $Y<\overline{Y Y}$.

[^59]:    1 Two signs are wanting at the end of the word；they have been restored from 11． 86 and 88．The name is Vi（n）ldafranâ not Vi（n）dafrâ，in Old Persian．The new reading ayrees more closely with the Susian form of the name，Mintaparna．
    $z$ The division－wedge is written at the beginning of 1.85 ．

[^60]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division－wedge is written at the beginning of 1.86 ，and the word $=Y y Y Y<-Y_{Y} Y$ does not occur here upon the rock．
    ${ }^{2}$ The reading Bâbiruviyam，in place of Râbirauv，is certain．
    ${ }^{8}$ The sign $\overline{T Y}$ at the end of the name is certain ；of． 11,84 and 88 ．
    ${ }^{4}$ The preposition abiy does not occur on the rock before Bâlirum．
    ${ }^{5}$ A natural break occurs in the surface of the rock between the signs $\Sigma<$ and YYY．
    ${ }^{6}$ The signs $=(\sqrt{Y Y}$ at the end of the name are certain ；see above， 11.84 and 86 ．
    7 There is room for about fourteen or fifteen signs in the gap．

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ There is room for these signs upon the rock.
    ${ }^{2}$ After the sign $\mathrm{F} \boldsymbol{\gamma}$ there is a gap of about six signs; then follow slight traces
     eleven or twelve signs at the end of the line.
    ${ }^{3}$ Traces of three signs are visible at the beginning of the line, reading ${ }^{2} \gamma_{y} Y_{A} \overline{Y Y Y}$ FY\%; then comes a gap of about three signs followed by slight traces of the signs
     hauv Arakha u]ta as conjecturally restored in the text.

[^62]:    ${ }^{1}$ A natural break occurs on the rock after
    ${ }^{2}$ A natural break occurs on the rock after ${ }^{2} \mathrm{Y} \% \mathrm{Y}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The reading kh[sâalhiya] abavam, in place of khšayathiya hamitriya abara adam, is certain.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ The character on the rock is $1 川$, and not TY.
    ${ }^{2}$ There are possibly traces of an erasure after the sign ${ }^{2} \mathrm{y} y$ \%. The divisionwedge is written at the ends of 11.7 and 8.
    ${ }^{3}$ The engraver has left a blank space on each side of the character YYY.

[^64]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign $\overline{\text { YY }}$ is written here and not at the end of 1.12.
    ${ }^{2}$ A natural break occurs here on the rock．

[^65]:    ${ }^{1}$ The division-wedge is written here and not at the end of 1.22 .

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ The engraver has left blank a space of one character at the beginning of the line．
    ${ }^{2}$ The sign 〈令 is written at the beginning of this line．

[^67]:    ${ }_{1}^{1}$ The engraver has here left a blank space of one character.
    ${ }_{2}^{2}$ This restoration is not quite certain. The traces of the last character of the section are possibly those of $\overline{\text { र. }}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The sign is certainly $\overline{<}$ and not

[^68]:    1 There is possibly room for one more character in the gap.
    2 There is room for four or five characters in this gap.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ This restoration is not certain．The traces of the third sign in the word read 人潠。

    2 There are traces of two characters on the rock between the signs $\bar{\ll}$ and $\bar{\eta}$ ．

[^70]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading avâ is certain.
    2 The reading on the rock is certainly tharda kurtam and not durartam. Thus the root durar, does not exist in Old Persian.
    ${ }^{3}$ The sign $\overline{T Y}$ is written at the end of 1.52 .

[^71]:    ${ }^{1}$ From the traces which exist the form aniyiha is more probable than aniyâ.
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces of the sign are possibly those of $\overline{\mathbb{T}^{2}}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The sign is quite clearly $=1$, and not $=1$, on the rock.

[^72]:    ${ }^{1}$ The traces of the sign read
    ${ }^{2}$ Space for division sign and two characters. It is possible that the break may be restored mam stunuvatam" those that praise me," from Sansk. V stu.
    ${ }^{3}$ The preceding characters on the rock are certain; the word is clearly to be restored from 11. 63-64.

    * There are possibly traces of two characters in the gap between the division. wedges.

[^73]:    1 The word that is wanting was perhaps some form of the verb $a h$, "to be."
    2 This sign is nearly erased from the rock and its reading is not certain.
    ${ }^{3}$ Read $b a$ here and not ka. Cf. 11. 74 and 78.

[^74]:    ${ }^{1}$ Though only traces of this character remain on the rock, it is certainly $=Y y Y$, and not - My ; cf. 1. 78.
    ${ }^{2}$ This character is certainly $=Y$, and not $Y$.
    

[^75]:    ${ }^{1}$ This character is certainly $=Y y$ and not - YyY.
    ${ }^{2}$ The character $\Rightarrow y$ is certain.

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ Traces of this character are visible．
    ${ }^{2}$ The name［U］tâ［na］has been provisionally restored from the Susian version where it occurs under the form Huttana．It should be noted，however，that the gap on the rock is scarcely large enough for the restoration of the signs $=$ 人 suggested in the text．
    ${ }^{3}$ Or possibly $\overline{Y Y}$ ．

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ The traces appear to be virivizy；possibly read $u[t \hat{a}]$ ．
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces of this character read il．
    ${ }^{3}$ Slight traces of these characters are visible upon the rock．
    ${ }^{4}$ ．The traces of this word are fairly clear．
    5 There appears to be only one sign wanting，so that we should possibly read $i[y a]$ ；cf． 1.90
    ${ }^{6}$ The traces of the sign before ${ }^{6} \mathrm{yyy}_{\mathrm{Y}}$ are those of $\overline{\mathrm{YY}}$ not $\overline{Y Y}$ ；the reading $[y] \hat{a} m$ is therefore more probable than［a］dam．
    ${ }^{7}$ Only one character is wanting ；the traces suggest $\frac{7}{\sqrt{1 Y}}$ ．
    ${ }^{B}$ The traces suggest $=y \mathrm{y} \%$ ．
    ${ }^{9}$ The traces suggest 潑〈卒

[^78]:    ${ }^{1}$ Traces of this character are visible.
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces of this character appear to be those of FYY.
    ${ }^{3}$ It is probable that iya is a parallel form to iyam, the nom fem. sing. of the demonstrative pronoun. This would be certain if the reading of the division wedge before 哃 were clear upon the rock.
    ${ }^{4}$ The traces of the sign are those of "YyY or EYyY.
    ${ }^{5}$ Only one character is wanting ; the traces suggest $\frac{5}{\mathrm{YY}}$.
    ${ }^{6}$ One character is wanting.
    7 There are traces here of six or seven characters.
    8 There is space on the rock for four characters at the end of the line; but probably nothing is wanting.

[^79]:    ${ }^{1}$ There is space on the rock for two characters at the end of the line.
    ${ }_{2}^{2}$ There is room for about five characters in the gap ; the traces of the first are possibly those of $\frac{\overline{y y}}{\sqrt{Y}}$ or $\overline{\frac{z}{V Y}}$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The traces of the first character in this gap are

[^80]:    ${ }^{1}$ There is room for eight or nine characters in the gap.
    ${ }^{2}$ There is room for six or seven characters in the gap.
    ${ }^{8}$ There is room for fourteen or fifteen characters in the gap.
    ${ }^{4}$ There is no "ry following $\mathrm{r}^{-}$; abiy daraya is the phrase used in 1. 10 of the longest inscription of Darius at the Suez Canal.

[^81]:    ${ }^{1}$ There is room for eight or nine characters in the gap.
    ${ }^{2}$ There is room for six or seven characters in the gap.
    ${ }^{3}$ The end of the sign is preserved.
    ${ }^{4}$ There is room for four characters in the gap.
    ${ }^{5}$ The sign is clearly $\langle\langle \ Y$ on the rock, so that the name cannot be restored as that of Skunka.
    ${ }^{6}$ There is room for five or six characters in the gap.

[^82]:    ${ }^{1}$ Here and at the end of Fipigraph K the division wedge is omitted.

[^83]:    ${ }^{1}$ The graver has omitted the character TY by mistake.

[^84]:    ${ }^{1}$ The characters on the rock are to be read taiu $[s]$-pe-na (and not tai $\left[y a u s{ }^{k}\right]-n a$ ); there are distinct traces of the signs =III and $\sim$.
    ${ }^{2}$ There is no trace here of any sign [Y].

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ The determinative $\$ is written here upon the rock．
    ${ }^{2}$ For this restoration，of．Epigraph A，line ro．

[^86]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign upon the rock is clearly $\geqslant 1$, not $\rightleftharpoons \hat{\gamma}$.
    2 The traces on the rock are possibly those of this character.
    

[^87]:    ${ }^{1}$ The characters $\rightarrow$ are certain．Ati is probably a form of at or ate （ $=$ Old Pers．apiy）．
    ${ }^{2}$ There are traces of MY ，and perhaps traces of the sign $\approx Y$ following it upon the rock；but the latter is very doubtful，and it is possible that there is no character there at all． F －is certain．
    ${ }^{8}$ There are traces of this sign upon the rock．
    ${ }^{4}$ These signs are fairly clear on the rock．Neman occurs twice elsewhere（in

[^88]:    ${ }^{1}$ The character on the rock is certainly $=\frac{1}{2}$ and not $=1$ ．The Persian form of the name is Paishi［yâ］$] v \hat{a} d \hat{d}$ ．

[^89]:    ${ }^{1}$ There is room for two characters here.
    ${ }^{8}$ It is possible that there are traces of this character on the rock.
    ${ }^{8}$ Not more than one character is wanting here.
    4 The sign Enlil is also possible.
    ${ }^{5}$ Traces of this character are visible upon the rock.

[^90]:    ${ }^{1}$ The reading huttaš is certain．
    ${ }^{2}$ Traces of these two characters are visible upon the rock．

[^91]:    
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces on the rock here read: 5

[^92]:    ${ }^{1}$ In this word the signs and Fin are clear，and of the remaining signs traces are visible upon the rock．

    2＇Traces of the sign are visible upon the rock．
    ${ }^{8}$ Traces of the sign $Y$ are visible．

[^93]:    Traces of the signs TE and－ITK＜are visible upon the rock．

[^94]:    ${ }^{1}$ The character $\dagger$ does not occur here upon the rock.

[^95]:    ${ }^{1}$ The traces on the rock appear to be those of this character.
    ${ }^{2}$ There is room for one character in the gap.
    ${ }^{8}$ There are traces of two, possibly three, characters in the gap.

[^96]:    ${ }_{1}$ There are possible traces of this character upon the rock.
    2 The character $Y$ occurs nere, and not at the end of the preceding line.
    ${ }^{3}$ The character is - , not $Y$.
    ${ }_{4}$ There are traces of this character upon the rock, and the characters and -MYK are clear ; it is therefore possible that marri is to be read here.

[^97]:    ${ }^{1}$ This character is - , not $Y$.

[^98]:    ${ }^{1}$ The character $\$ does not nccur here upon the rock.

[^99]:    ${ }^{1}$ The graver has written $\bar{m} \bar{m}$ for $\bar{m}$ upon the rock by mistake.

[^100]:    ${ }^{1}$ The graver has written for upon the rock by mistake．

[^101]:    1 The graver has written $\overline{-11}$ for $\bar{\pi}$ upon the rock by mistake．
    ${ }^{2}$ The graver has written the sign as - ，omitting a wedge by mistake．

[^102]:    ${ }^{1}$ The graver has written the sign as by mistake.

[^103]:    ${ }^{1}$ The restoration of ( $m$ ) Paršin is not quite certain from the traces that remain at the beginning of the line.
    ${ }^{8}$ Only traces of these characters remain upon the rock.

[^104]:    
     following signs upon the rock.
    ${ }^{3}$ Irtumartiya is the correct form, see $l$. 14 .

    * Traces of the characters Ey and =ITK are visible upon the rock.
    ${ }^{5}$ Traces of the characters 페 नM are visible upon the rock.
    6 It is possible that the word anka, "when," or some similar word, might be supplied here.
    ${ }^{7}$ The traces of the sign are those of ज्या, not -11 .

[^105]:    1 There is room for two more characters in the gap.
    2 There are no traces of the character $Y$ on the rock.
    ${ }^{3}$ A short break followed by a blank space large enough for four characters occurs on the rock at the beginning of the line.

[^106]:    1 The sign is not $m$.
    ${ }^{3}$ Traces of this character are visible upon the rock.

[^107]:    E－Y is clear upon the rock，and there are also traces of the sign $\equiv \%$ ．

[^108]:    ${ }^{1}$ The foliowing traces of the last two characters in the gap are visible upon the rock：证
    ${ }^{2}$ The character IVI is clear upon the rock．
    ${ }^{3}$ The character is clearly written $\overline{=/ \pi}$ ，not $\overline{\overline{m m}}$ ；the graver has probably omitted a wedge by mistake．
    ${ }^{4}$ The sign follows without any break between them．

[^109]:    1 The traces of this sign are possibly those of $=-1$ ，not $\varphi$ ．

[^110]:    ${ }^{1}$ The graver appears to have written the sign $\rangle$ here，before $=Y Y Y$ ，by mistake．

[^111]:    ${ }^{1}$ This character is $\overline{\text { п川 }}$, and not $\overline{\text { - }}$; it is clearly visible upon the rock.
    ${ }^{2}$ The character $\boldsymbol{T} \%$ is visible upon the rock.
    
    1 The traces of the characters following -

[^112]:    ${ }^{1}$ The traces upon the rock of the last character in the gap are possibly those of $\langle=\{$. ${ }^{2}$ Sic.

[^113]:    ${ }^{1}$ There is not room for more than three characters in this gap.
    ${ }^{2}$ The character is $=1$, not

[^114]:    ${ }^{1}$ The traces of the character following $w=$ read $=1$

[^115]:    1 The upper part of the column has been erased in order to make room for the sculptured figure of Skunka, the Scythian. Only the beginnings of the last three lines of the column are preserved.
    ${ }^{2}$ Only traces of the signs at the beginning of the line remain; they read:
    
    

    - There is not room for more than two characters in this gap; the traces read:

[^116]:    ${ }^{1}$ This line is quite clear upon the rock.

[^117]:    1 The sign $\mid$ has been written and then crased at the end of line 2.

[^118]:    1 This sign is written at the end of line r ，not at the beginning of line 2.
    2 The sign $Y$ does not occur before EYY，but there is a small natural break in the surface of the rock．A similar but larger natural defect in the rock occurs at the end of line 7.

[^119]:    ${ }^{1}$ An attempt is here made to restore as far as possible the missing portions of the Babylonian text from parallel passages. Where such authority is wanting the text has not generally been restored, but in some passages conjectural restorations have been suggested in the footnotes.
    ${ }^{2}$ At the beginning of the line there does not seem to be room for a greater number of signs than those conjecturally restored in the text. 'The traces of the last sign in the gap are possibly those of YY, not $\$$.
    ${ }^{3}$ The exact traces upon the rock read should possibly be rendered sarru ina naphar sarrani( fl$)$; but the traces which appear to read -1 are much weathered and may possibly represent an erasure by the engraver.

[^120]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Babylonian form of the name of Arsames is not known ; it may possibly
    
    ${ }^{2}$ The beginning of the line has been conjecturally restored in accordance with the form of the two following phrases.
    ${ }^{3}$ The signs 1 -tt are clear upon the rock; the traces of the preceding sign are probably those of $\xi_{\square}$.

[^121]:    1 The signs are clear upon the rock.
    
    ${ }^{3}$ The sign 4 is clear upon the rock.

[^122]:    ${ }^{1}$ The name may be conjecturally restored as the Persian and Susian texts.
    ${ }^{2}$ The signs $K$ are clearly visible upon the rock.

[^123]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that this phrase should not be taken as two words, but as a verb, is-si-dan-nu (I 2 of $\boldsymbol{O}$ with suffix), "he helped me." This would give a closer rendering of the Persian text.
    ${ }^{2}$ The conflate sign is clearly engraved upon the rock.

[^124]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Babylonian names of the months have only been restored where there is textual authority for the equations; see the Introduction.
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces of this sign upon the rock are possibly those of $E E=$; the sign $\mathrm{N}_{\mathrm{N}}$, which follows it, is clear.

[^125]:    ${ }^{1}$ The verb $i d b u b$ should possibly be restored here.
    ${ }^{8}$ The sign on the rock appears to be $\boldsymbol{\alpha}$, not

[^126]:    ${ }^{1}$ The verb should possibly be restored as $i$-te- $i k-m u$, or $i n-n i=-i s-s a-a$.
    ${ }^{2}$ The missing sentence should possibly be restored in some such way as $\dot{s} a$ $i-t c-i k-m u \quad a-n a \quad s a-a-s ̌ u$ ina $a s ̌-r i-s ̌ u ~ a n a-k u \quad u l-t u-a z-z i-i z$ (or $u l-t e-s ̌ i b)$, with the possible addition of some such phrase as $k i-i$ san $n m e ̂(p l) p a-n i$.
    ${ }^{8} \mathrm{Sic}$; $\overline{\mathrm{Y}}$ is not written here at the end of the word.
    ${ }_{4}$ The sign appears to have been engraved twice upon the rock by mistake.

[^127]:    ${ }^{1}$ The conflate sign 7 位 is clear upon the rock．
    ${ }^{2}$ The Babylonian form of the name has not been preserved．

[^128]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that a second verb should here be restored; ma in al-lik-ma (1.33) may, however, be the emphatic particle.
    ${ }^{2}$ Only one sign appears to be wanting. The traces read:

[^129]:    1 The words ana tarssia, "against me," should here be possibly restored.

[^130]:    ${ }^{1}$ So the traces upon the rock appear to read; $\overline{\leq y Y}$ in place of $\bar{y} Y\{$ is just possible.
    ${ }^{2}$ To judge from the space upon the rock, Sections XXII. and XXIII. of the Persian text probably ran on and formed a single section in the Babylonian, as in the Susian, version.

[^131]:    ${ }^{1}$ Literally, "house." The phrase could be rendered "at home," but it may probably be taken as referring to the Median court; cf. the Persian text and the Susian version.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is probable that a new section did not begin at this point, and that Sections XXIV. and XXV. of the Persian text formed a single paragraph in the Babylonian, as in the Susian, version.
     $i-m i-d u$, "was not numerous."

[^132]:    ${ }^{1}$ The missing phrase should probably not be restored as ana [kakkadi-sut-mu al-ta-par um-ma, etc., since in 1.86 the preposition empluyed is ina, not ana; a possible rendering would be ana rabatu ina muhhišunu ultazziz.

    * This sign is uncertain. The exact traces upon the rock appear to read $\left\langle\begin{array}{l}\text { Y } \\ \text { \% }\end{array}\right.$.

[^133]:    ${ }^{1}$ This reading is quite certain.

[^134]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign is quite clear upon the rock.
    ${ }^{2}$ It is probable that the Babylonian version here gave details as to the number of the slain.

[^135]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that the duplicate BE 3627 omitted the phrase (ilu) U-ri-mi-is-da is-si dan-mu; see also p. $18 \mathrm{x}, \mathrm{n}$. I .
    ${ }^{2}$ BE 3627 紋.
    
    ${ }^{4}$ BE 3627 adds Ar-
    s The figure $\rceil$ is clear on the rock, and there is nothing wanting before it.
    ${ }^{6}$ The figure is w , not 鞇, upon the rock.
    7 The end of this sign is preserved by BE 3627 .
    ${ }^{8}$ Traces of the sign
    ${ }^{9}$ BE 3627 -

[^136]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that the phrase (i/u) U-ra-mi-iz-da is-si dan-mu was omitted by the duplicate BE 3627 .

    2This reading is quite certain.

[^137]:    1 The missing phrases should possibly be restored in some such way as $\left[(m) P a-a r-u-m a r-t i-i s s^{\circ} \quad a-g a-s ̌ u-u \quad\right.$ su-ub-bu-ut $\ldots$. . . ana-ku ap-pi-šu uznâ(11)-šu u li-s̆a-na-šu u-bat-tik înâ(ı1)-s̆u u-na-bil šu-u ka-mu-us-su(?)] iz-za-[az] ina babi-ia.

    * Only one sign appears to be wanting here.

    3 The signs - $\frac{1}{6}$ are quite clear upon the rock.
    4 The phrase should possibly be restored in some such way as a-na bit și-bit-tz ina (alu) A-ga-ma-ta-nu $u$-še-vi-ib-su-nu-tu.
    ${ }^{5}$ Cf. 1.93.

[^138]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a possible way in which very similar phrases may be restored, see above, p. 182 n . .
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces of the signs upon the rock before A抽 are very uncertain; it is
    
    ${ }^{3}$ Sic.

[^139]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign 硼 is here omitted upon the rock.
    ${ }^{2}$ The signs $\#$ and $E Y$ are much weathered, but are certain.
    ${ }^{3}$ It is probable that another verb, such as mašâru(II I), should here be restored.

[^140]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that the Babylonian version here gave details as to the numbers of the slain.

    2 The word aš-pur-ma, though weathered upon the rock, is certain.
    3. The traces of the figure upon the rock might possibly be read as 〈YYY or 〈WY.

[^141]:    ${ }^{1}$ Or ta-rat ; cf. 1. 7 r.
    ${ }_{z}$ This reading is certain.
    3 The conflate sign $\boldsymbol{X} \boldsymbol{W}$ is clear upon the rock.
    ${ }^{4}$ It is possible that some such phrase as ina kakkadisunu, or rabíi ina muhhisumu, with III 1 or III 2 of nazâzu should here be restored.

    - The words a-na tar-si-su should here possibly be restored.

[^142]:    ${ }^{1}$ It would be tempting to take as a determinative and as the first sign of a proper name, which might be restored as (alu) $I-[u-t i-i a]$, from the preceding line. But in the corresponding passage in the Persian text Jautivit, the old Persian original of the Bab. Iutia, does not occur ; moreover, the word yadây $\hat{u}$, which does occur, is not accompanied by the usual formula for a city's name when mentioned for the first time in the text. The corresponding passage in the Susian version is broken.

    2 The sign ey is quite clear upon the rock. It would be possible to read $m i-i-s i$, but it seems preferable to take $m i$ as the enclitic particle and read $i-s i ; c f$. the Susian version.
    ${ }^{8}$ Some such phrase as ina kalkidud-su-nu al-fa-par shouid here be restored.

[^143]:    ${ }^{1}$ For this resturation, cf. 1. 88.

[^144]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that we should here restore some such phrase as istenn(en) amêlu ina bakkadi-šu-mu it-la-par.

[^145]:    
    2 There is space here for only one sign, so that if $\sim \mathcal{M}$ is part of the proper name, the usual formula, šumšu, must have been omited, (cf. 1.80); another possible restoration would be $i t]-t i \mathrm{kI}-[\mathrm{baL}](\mathrm{pl})$; but see n. 3 .
     the signs may perhaps be rendered as itti $[$ nikritu $]$ (pl) ; there does not seem to be room for two signs in the gap, so that the restoration, itti $[a-h \mathrm{~h} a]-m e s$ is improbable.

[^146]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is possible that the Babylonian version here and in 1.81 gave details as to the number of the slain.
    ${ }^{2}$ Only one sign is here wanting, of which the traces read ${ }^{2}$. phrase should possibly be restored as [it-ta-lak ar-ki] sa-a-[su].
    ${ }^{3}$ Traces of these two signs are still visible upon the rock.
    ${ }^{1}$ This reading is certain.

[^147]:    ${ }^{1}$ See above, p. 187 , n. 5 .
    ${ }^{2}$ The phrase ina ša-ni-ti Ł̆arrani should possibly be restored here.

[^148]:    ${ }^{1}$ See below, n. 4.
    2 The traces of this sign which remain upon the rock might possibly be read as $7 \times 1$, but the reading $=1$ is preferable.
    ${ }^{8}$ See below, n. 4.

    - Two signs are here wanting, of which only slight and uncertain traces remain.
     $[(m) M i]-i n-[t a-p a r]-m a-$. The sign < is clear upon the rock.

[^149]:    ${ }^{1}$ One sign only is wanting; should possibly be restored, i.c., (améhu) már-bânûti( $p l)$-s̆u rabititi $(p l)$, "his mighty nobles,"

[^150]:    1 The sign is quite clear upon the rock in this passage and in the three following lines,

[^151]:    ${ }^{1}$ Sic．
    ${ }^{2}$ Sic．
    ${ }^{3}$ The signs $\sqrt{17 y}$ 形 are quite clear upon the rock．

[^152]:    94. [up-tar-ri-iṣ i-kab-bi um-ma ana-ku šarru ina (mâtu) Mar-gu-' šu-u (mâtu) Mar-gu-' ut tak-kir (m) U-mini-iz-da-a-tu šu-um-s̆u (amêlu) Par-sa-a-a šu-u up-tar-ri-iṣ i-ḳab-bi um-ma] ana-ku (m) Bar-zi-ia apil-šu ša (m) Ku-ras̆ suu-u (mâtu) Par-su ut-tak-kir (m)A-raḥu šu-um šu (mâtu) U-ra-aş-ta-a-a ${ }^{1}$ su-u 95. [up-tar-ri-iṣ i-ḳab-bi um-ma ana-ku ( m . ilu) Nabû-kudurri-uṣur apil-šu ša ( m . ilu) Nabâ-na'id su-u Bâbilu (kı) ut-tak-kir Ş XLIII. (m) Da-ri-ia-muš šarru ki-a-am i-kab-bi . . . . . . . . . . ${ }^{\text {ºn }}$ ] u bal-ṭu ša iṣ-ba-tu-' u i-du-ku-' u-ku at-tu-u-a ina bi-rit
[^153]:    

[^154]:    ${ }^{1}$ The sign is possibly
    ${ }^{2}$ One sign appears to be here wanting.
     the single sign

    * The traces of these signs are clear.

[^155]:    ${ }^{1}$ One sign only is here wanting.
    ${ }^{2}$ The traces of this sign are possibly those of $E$
    3 There is a slight break in the surface of the rock between $Y$ and probably no sign is wanting.
    ${ }^{4}$ There is room for two signs in the gap between $\leq \mid=1$ and $\left.\leq E Y\right\rangle$.
    ${ }^{5}$ The sign < is clear at the beginning of the line; the following sign < $\angle$ probably the beginning of $m i-[i m-m a]$.
    ${ }^{6}$ There is room for one sign, or possibly two signs, in this gap.
    7 There is room for about three signs in the gap between < and $-\boldsymbol{7}$.

[^156]:    ${ }^{1}$ One or possibly two signs are here wanting.
    ${ }^{2}$ There is room for three signs in this gap.
    ${ }^{3}$ There are slight traces of the sign $=\boldsymbol{6}$ upon the rock.
    4 The signs $\langle\Sigma=\boldsymbol{y}$ are quite certain.

[^157]:    1 The epigraph, corresponding to A of the Persian Text and the Susian Version and referring to Darius, is not represented in the Babylonian Version.

[^158]:    ${ }^{1}$ The exact traces on the rock between the signs $=y^{2}$ and are possibly an error of the engraver for $\mathrm{E}<\boldsymbol{\gamma} \mathrm{Y}$.

